Pakistan, Afghanistan, Turkmenistan to boost ties

# Tripartite agreement

ISLAMABAD, Aug. 24: Pakistan, Afghanistan and Turkmenistan tripartite commission concluded its deliberations here today.

Federal Secretary for Communications, Mr. Aitezazuddin Ahmad presided over the concluding session. Minister for Communications and Transport of Turkmenistan, Mr. Rahmanov Senakuli Rahmanovich said that the expansion of communication links between the three countries would pave way for creating complete unity and solidarity in ECO region. He said that the two-day meetings of the tripartite commission held in Islamabad would produce salutary and far-reaching consequences. He said that the meetings have emphasised the dire need of establishing a Railway system between these countries, and a study report would be prepared in this context. He further said that the masses of three brotherly Muslim countries have identical views on all matters and the experts are making endeavours to evolve a sound policy in the light of the conditions obtaining in the three neighbouring countries. The Memorandum of Understanding concluded in the meeting was of historic significance, he added.

Afghan Minister Dr. Engr. Wali Muhammad Rasooli observed that meeting of the tripartite commission signified profound desire of these brotherly countries to come closer together and that these meeting would greatly help to determine new ways and means for economic-cooperation for the progress and prosperity of the region. • • •

At the conclusion of the meeting, an agreement was signed by Mr. Rahmanov Senakuli Rahmanovich, Minister for Communications and Transport of Turkmenistan, Afghan Minister Dr. Engr. Wali Muhammad Rasooli and Mr. Muhammad Sher Khan, head of Pakistan's delegation and additional secretary Ministry of Communication.

The agreement reflects unanimity of views of all the parties. This document lays down new ways for strengthening relations between the three countries. . . .

Text of the Agreement is as follows:

Pursuant to the Memorandum of Understanding concluded in Istanbul on 7th July, 1993, a meeting of delegations of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Turkmenistan, comprising experts in the fields of Communications and Energy was held in Islamabad on 23rd and 24th August, 1993. They discussed modalities of establishing road, rail and air links between the three countries. The export of gas and electricity from Turkmenistan to Pakistan and beyond was also examined.

The discussions were held in a very cordial atmosphere.

2. It was agreed that there was considerable potential for cooperation in all fields.

3. On the establishment of highways linking the three countries the delegations agreed that the existing road network was suitable for transit traffic. However some sectors in Afghanistan need to be repaired. They further agreed that:

i. The most feasible and shortest route linking the three countries was Ashkabad-Kushka-Torkundi-Herat-Kandahar-Chamman-Quetta-Karachi.

ii. Technical experts of the three countries would visit this route in September, 1993 to collect relevant data and submit their report by the end of September.

4. The delegations had detailed discussions on the construction of railway systems linking the three countries. They emphasised the importance of rail links and the considerable volume of freight that could be transported cheaper by rail and decided:

i. To connect Turkmenistan and Afghanistan with the port of Karachi by the following rail route:

ii. Ashkabad-Kushka-Torkundi-Herat-Kandahar-Chamman-Quetta-Karachi.

iii. A feasibility study of the proposed alignment carried out by "Sofrerail" of France would be supplied by Afghanistan to Pakistan and Turkmenistan.

iv. A team of railway experts from Pakistan and Turkmenistan would visit Afghanistan to undertake a detailed technical, traffic and engineering field study.

v. The proposal for the transit of Turkmenistani goods through multi-model transport between the three countries would be examined.

5. Pakistan Railways also offered to train personnel from Afghanistan and Turkmenistan in the design and construction of railway tracks.

6. The delegations noted that Air Services Agreements (ASAs) already existed amongst the three countries. They agreed to start air services between their respective capitals and other cities as soon as possible. In this regard PIA plans to start a service to Kabul and Ashkabad in the near future.

Pakistan Civil Aviation and PIA also offered to place their training facilities and other expertise at the disposal of Afghanistan and Turkmenistan.

7. The delegations agreed in principle to the transmission of electricity from Turkmenistan to Afghanistan and Pakistan on terms and conditions to be mutually agreed.

8. The three parties also agreed to hold a meeting of experts, within a month, for system stability study, cost sharing of construction and maintenance and to make recommendations in this regard. A formal sale/purchase agreement would be concluded among the Turkmen State Energy Corporation "KUVVAT", WAPDA of Pakistan and Electricity Department of Afghanistan when the recommendations of experts are approved by their respective governments.

9. The three sides agreed in principle to cooperate in the exploration and development of oil and natural gas resources and to encourage cooperation in training, technology sharing and servicing of oil and natural gas sectors.

10. The possibility of export of Turkmen gas from Karachi Port was discussed. It was agreed that further detailed exchanges between the experts of the three countries would be held in the near future after relevant data had been collected.

11. The three sides expressed satisfaction at the positive outcome of the talks. They felt that this happy development reflected the deep and abiding desire of the governments and peoples of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Turkmenistan to intensify and expand the existing cooperation. They expressed their determination to adhere to the time frames laid down in the agreements and agreed that it was important to maintain the momentum achieved as a result of the Islamabad meeting.

In October 1993, there will be summit of the heads of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Turkmenistan.

PT 8/25

## Hard is the situati on, but kind is the feeling

Despite the tremendous problems the counyr's medical services facilities have been encountering, the Wazir Akbar Khan Hospital in the capital strived during the last year to serve the citizens in a better way offering them timely service within its possibilities, stated Dr. Atiqullah Ebadi vice-president of the hospital.

Built in 1965 in Wazir Akbar Khan Maina the hospital has 250 beds, running orthaopaedic. tauramatology, general surgery, inernal, physiotherapy, laboratories, X-rays, blood bank and an emergencey ward of 25 specialists 89 physicians and 103 nurses. A number of young doctors who are undergoing practical tical training under the suspices of Kabul Medical Institute are also serving there.

Ebadi added that though during the past year and in recent months, the number of patients admitted by the hospital was too high, the dedicated personnel of the hospital inspired by their humanitarian feelings offered timely medical help to their countrymen and tried their best to save their lives with the madest possibilities at their disposal. We are sure that the international institutions would increase their assistance to the medical institutions in Afghanistan to enable them expand their services. Ebadi pointed out.

KT 6/19

Matters Military

Noor A. Hussain

# Afghanistan: the challenge ahead

That Gulbaddin Hikmatyar should have at long last taken over as rime Minister of Afghanistan is of historic significance. That he should have made it to that important position inspite of overt and covert machinations of external powers—Britain, Russia, India to name a few—is indeed all the more creditable and commendable. The Great Game or the tournament of shadows, as the Russians called it, continues to be played, but with somewhat different rules and different dices!

Since the time that Hikmatyar refused Reagan's invitation to the White House in the 1980s, the western media had turned against him and had carried out a well orchestrated world wide campaign of vilification and character assassination. Regrettably, part of our national media, lacking objective investigative reporting and field work, had joined in this campaign too. The Mujahideen Groups lacked not only proper intelligence setups but also lacked proper public relations outfits. The English language was also a barrier. The vicious reporting in western books, periodicals, newspapers continued unchecked and without contradicting.

What were Hikmatyar's faults apart from not bending to Western pressures? Unlike Tito, Mao, Ho Chin Minh, Giap, Che Guevera etc, he did not draw strength from an atheistic ideology, but drew inspiration from his own Faith. And sported a beard bigger than theirs and those of both Karl Marx and Archbishop Makarios of Greece. Was Hikmatyar not among the first to declare Jehad against the Kabul regime of Daoud in 1973-74? Was he not among the first to be trained at Cherat by men and with men whose motto was WHO DARES WINS? After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 Hikmatyar displayed his grasp of both tactics and strategy in the field, and which has at long last paid off. Some of our pseudo—strategists could well take tips from him.

It is a sad commentary on Pakistan's incompetence at crisis and conflict management that it took almost a year after the collapse of Nijibullah's regime and a number of abortive accords before Hikmatyar could be installed as the Prime Minister of the Islamic State of Afghanistan. The guilt should be shared equally by some of our woolly headed, bungling, erstwhile intelligence chiefs and foggy tops masquerading as policy makers in MFA. The latter with their old school ties form abroad are many decades later still prone to manipulation by Knights of the Garter! The ghosts of Durand, Curzon, Mountbatten, Radcliffe and others still haunt the corridors of power in Islamabad, doctoring the diplomatic balls of the old Game. And what sort of a man represents Pakistan in Kabul? Does he stand as tall as Hikmatyar and the other Mujahideen leaders? Has he their confidence? Does he know what is going on in the Great Game from across Central Asia, Moscow, New Delhi, Tel Aviv? Perhaps he has already spent enough sleepless nights; a change may be in our national interest and good for his failing health!

Many tasks await Hikmatyar and he knows his priorities. The first is to ensure his own security in a city where cost of living is high but where life is cheap. The second is to clear Kabul of the weapons of the Warlords occupying various segments of the capital, while at the same time organising disciplined, modern, well equipped regular Armed Forces in which helicopters and gunships would play a vital role in years to come. The third is simultaneously integrating, both politically and militarily, provinces north and south of Hindukush, while settling issues through parleys, with the like of Rashid Dostum and Ahmad Shah Masood. Checking mischief and machinations from across Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenstan, masterminded by external powers would also receive his attention as much as reconstruction and economic uplift. Pakistan should continue sealing borders with Afghanistan against foreign adventurers more effectively, without disturbing the return of Afghan refugees or the flow of humanitarian aid.



Cynics should not forget that Afghanistan has survived as an independent nation-state for over 200 years; longer than many nation states of Europe and Asia. And it has survived in the shadow of Imperial powers, superpowers, and nuclear powers. The Afghan people are blessed with political sagacity, whether sitting and debating in Jirgas or Shooras. Often in the past they have successfully turned their swords into ploughshares. Their leaders throughout history have displayed statesmanship when left on their own. Together they have successfully fought and won the biggest and longest Jehad of Islamic history against an atheistic superpower that has ceased to exist.

**The writer is a former Director General of the Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad.**

# Afghans train Islamic activists for world 'jihad'

The News

June 22, 1993

KABUL: Afghanistan, where ragged Muslim guerrillas conquered the might of the Soviet Red Army in the 1980s, has become a magnet for the self-respecting Islamic warriors of the 1990s and beyond.

The Islamic activists, mostly Arabs, no longer come for religious inspiration. They want weapons training and combat experience.

Despite their help in overthrowing Soviet-backed communists, the Arabs have not been welcomed by the former Afghan government of Burhanuddin Rabbani, which has accused them of fighting for mujahideen leader Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, whose Hezb-i-Islami party has battled the former government for months for supremacy in the capital.

Twelve heavily-armed Arabs were captured last month in a gun battle on the outskirts of Kabul. The men said they were in Afghanistan for military training to equip them to fight for the cause of Islam around the world.

"Afghanistan is the only place to train," said a 20-year-old Algerian captive, who gave his name only as Isaak. "I am not here for the Afghan jihad, I came for training."

Governments in the Middle East, particularly Egypt, Algeria and Saudi Arabia, say Islamic activists fighting to undermine or overthrow their rule are gaining weapons experience and plotting attacks at home from refugees in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Thousands of Arabs converged on Afghanistan in the 1980s, inspired to take part in the jihad against the Soviet invaders that was funded mainly by the United States and Saudi Arabia.

Most left after the 14-year Islam-inspired insurgency ended with the fall of the communists in April 1992, but about 2,000 Arabs are believed to have remained.

Isaak, speaking in a strong London accent and scattering quotations from the Qur'an throughout his remarks, said: "Allah says we must make the Islam the biggest and the greatest in the world and this is what we are seeing in Afghanistan." The radical Afghan guerrilla groups have set up training bases for Islamic activists in Afghanistan.

A teenage Afghan translator with the captives said they had just finished six weeks of military training at a camp run by the Hezb-i-Islami party in Logar province south of Kabul. He said at least 40 Arabs were being trained at the camp.

"Muslims are being attacked all over the world," Isaak said, adding that committed — and battle-drilled — Muslims were needed to fight for Islam in Bosnia, Israel, and Tajikistan.

Afghans say the Arabs are the fiercest religious zealots fighting in Afghanistan. Many of the zealous Arabs now in Afghanistan appear to have come from Pakistan which, sensitive to claims by Egypt, Algeria and Saudi Arabia that Islamic activists were using its North West Frontier Province as a safe haven to plan operations elsewhere, has begun a sweep against activists.

Several of the captured men said they fled Pakistan early this year for fear of deportation in Islamabad's crackdown, which Pakistani officials say has forced 1,600 militants out of the country. —Reuter

News 6/22

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN MUSLIM CENTRAL & WESTERN ASIA

The text of a lecture given by M. Siddieq Noorzoy at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at the University of California at Berkeley earlier this year.

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For the past two years there has been a movement among the member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation (OEC), consisting of Iran, Pakistan & Turkey, to expand this organization by inviting Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan & Uzbekistan (AKKTTU), as well as Afghanistan...to become members of a larger OEC. In a series of meetings, in Islamabad & particularly in a 1991 Tehran meeting, arguments for closer economic cooperation among these countries were presented by the presidents of Pakistan & Turkey. The arguments included the possibility of forming an Islamic Common Market as an ultimate goal. While these discussions were preliminary, the reaction to them in the US & Europe was alarmist & negative, raising issues about so-called Islamic fundamentalism & the threat of an emerging Islamic super state.

It is clear that both the issues raised in the outside debates & the prospects hoped for economic integration in the Muslim countries were misplaced. A closer look at these countries reveals the presence of many problems & constraints preventing major changes in economic & political affiliations at the present.

Foremost is the common problem that in the AKKTTU states communists & former communists are in control of the governments. When political reforms bring a change in government, forces loyal to the old Soviet system, & presumably still dedicated to communism, & those pushing for Russian hegemony, as recent events in Tajikistan have shown, return to power through military force, backed by Russian army regulars & volunteers. Further, the attacks by the Russian military on Afghanistan during July clearly provide evidence of this threat, something the world community thought was over with the collapse & disintegration of the former Soviet empire.

For the members of the OEC that provisionally include Afghanistan & the AKKTTU states to be able to expand their economic ties within this group of countries, much has to take place within the AKKTTU states themselves. They would have to be able to redirect their economic relations from the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), dominated by Russia, to their southern Muslim neighbors on a significant scale. Currently there are a number of important factors that restrict the AKKTTU states to the CIS &, as such, form the bulk of the constraints on closer economic relations between the AKKTTU states & other members of the OEC.

One of the main factors is the high interdependence of the trade of AKKTTU, as a group & on a bilateral basis, with the members of the CIS. In 1990, for example, 86.5% of Tajikistan's trade & as high as 92.5% of the trade of Turkmenistan were within the CIS. Similar proportions apply to the other states of AKKTTU.

Further, the AKKTTU states all have a high proportion of Slavic population, largely Russian & other ethnic Europeans who were brought into these areas by the Soviet Gov't, especially under Stalin, but also before communism during the Czarist era. So far these are the only technically skilled part of the work force in these countries, a situation the Soviet system planned & left behind.

In addition, the gov'ts of the AKKTTU receive subsidies, which ranged between 22.5% & 45% of their budgets in 1991, from the Russian Gov't. The AKKTTU states need to find substitute sources for these revenues.

The economies of the AKKTTU states suffer from the same kinds of problems as the Russian economy; falling output, high unemployment, high inflation, & the inability to carry out the necessary transformation from central planning controls, which no longer exist, to a market system, which so far is not organized on a national scale in any of these countries. While the Russian economy is undergoing rapid reformation, the economies of AKKTTU by policy, in general, are either slowed from this course or not permitted to go this route at all. There is little int'l pressure on these countries to carry out market reforms similar to Russia, which is the only recipient of multi-billion dollar aid (some $28 billion as of early 1993) from the G-7 & the IMF; this aid is tied to economic reforms in Russia.

While the West is anxious to see Russia establish a market system & democratic reforms & the large amount of aid is supposed to achieve these goals, the gov'ts of the G-7 have so far ignored the implications of this aid for the small neighboring countries that have suffered historically from Russian aggression & attempts at hegemony.

What guarantees are offered to the world community that, once the Russian economy is transformed into a modern industrial market system by Marshall Plan type aid from the rest of the world, the Russian Gov't will not use this new economic-cum-military power to subjugate its small neighbors? This clearly must remain a major concern of the AKKTTU states as well as other smaller neighboring countries.

In brief, these & other reasons, such as the use of the ruble as the only medium of exchange, extensive treaties that limit the trade of important commodities to direct state-to-state trade within the CIS, as well as defense treaties that continue to permit Russian military contingents in these countries, keep the AKKTTU states within CIS & clearly out of any form of close economic cooperation, let alone integration, with the southern Muslim countries. This situation is not likely to change much without changes in the gov'ts of the AKKTTU states. This will not happen unless there is a drive for full representation by the Muslim majorities in these states.

The structure & goals of the European Common Market (EC) do not form a model which the OEC can pursue, as some have argued. Yet despite the many differences between the EC & the proposed larger OEC there is one important area of common ground, the threat from Russian domination. A major reason for the growth of the EC was the threat increasingly felt in Western Europe from the Soviet expansions in Eastern Europe. The US actively encouraged Western European integration to counter this threat.

If the AKKTTU states feel that they are being threatened by Russian imperial designs, and such sentiments exist, then by forming closer ties with southern Muslim states of Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan & Pakistan, they may be able to ensure their political & economic sovereignties. Even in the absense of such a threat, they would likely benefit from closer economic cooperation with their southern neighbors...

Without extensive political changes & realignments & much research work in the areas where there are potential economic gains, the current discussions on economic integration remain as mere political discussions intended for the consumption of the political leadership in these countries. This is not to minimize the many trade treaties that have been signed by the AKKTTU states with other OEC members, but, rather to point out that these represent small diversions in trade from the CIS & should not be taken as major changes in the AKKTTU trade patterns which would be required for any significant degree of economic integration with OEC members. The importance is that they are taking place at all after so many decades of no direct economic linkages between the AKKTTU states & their Muslim neighbors. They are certainly moving these countries in the right direction.

The Moscow Tribune
No 82 (111) MOSCOW. TUESDAY. JULY 20. 1993 Free

# Afghans Ponder Overthrow that Opened Pandora's Box

**By Herve Clerc**
*Agence France Presse*

**ISLAMABAD** — When the world learned that an Afghan general had overthrown his cousin, King Zaher Shah, after a 40-year reign, few could have realised it was a crucial turning point in Afghanistan's turbulent history.

Even most Afghans could be forgiven for not realising the consequences on that day 20 years ago, July 17, 1973.

When the takeover occurred there were no apparent indications that a country would eventually be destroyed. The bloodless coup was apparent by only a few tanks in the streets of Kabul and the arrest of a handful of officers loyal to the king.

In short, a palace revolution, little more than a family dispute.

Yet many Afghans now see the "Daoud coup" as the beginning of a nightmare, the first act in a still-unfolding tragedy, and sensed something ominous from the very beginning.

"The very day Mohammed Daoud took power we understood that unhappiness had entered the history of Afghanistan," recalled Mangal Hussein, a close collaborator of current prime minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.

To follow were nine years of war against the Soviets, five years of civil war and now a capital city torn by fighting between rival mujahedeen factions. Anarchy in the provinces, destroyed roads and irrigation systems. Land mines littered throughout the fields, and opium replacing cotton as the top export.

The litany of problems poses the question: who is responsible?

"We're only 50 per cent responsible," replies Babrak Shinwari, the former leader of Afghanistan's young communist movement and now a refugee in the northwestern Pakistan city of Peshawar.

From his assumption of power, Daoud, an energetic and authoritarian soldier whose firm character was the opposite of his cousin's, sought to take unrivalled control.

Considering himself the Afghan equivalent of Kemal Ataturk, who led the Turkish war of independence and founded modern secular Turkey, he had the same obstacle: religious fundamentalism.

Preferring communism's red flag to the green banner of Islam, he put hundreds of fundamentalists in prison.

"There were communists in his government," Mangal Hussein said. "From the beginning, we understood that the communists were in power."

But Daoud did not move fast enough for some, and in April 1978 pro-Moscow communists led by Noor Mohamad Taraki overthrew him, though not before he made an apparent death-bed return to the religion of his birth.

"I will only surrender to God," Daoud shouted just before the soldiers sent to accept his surrender shot him dead.

Meanwhile, Zaher Shah lived in quiet exile in Rome — as he continues to do today, enjoying a simple routine in which he drives his small Renault each day to pick up the French newspaper *Le Monde*. Shunning publicity, he is never seen in fashionable restaurants.

At 77, ex-king Zaher Shah wants only peace.

"He didn't really believe in the monarchy," says his brother-in-law and cousin, Amman Assefy. "He didn't prepare his sons to take over. Deep down his only conviction is democracy."

Some Afghans see Zaher Shah as a possible saviour.

"Afghans see his reign as a golden age," Assefy explained. "There was absolute security. Total freedom. The country was poor but an economic takeoff was beginning."

Even Shinwari wants to see the former monarch back in power in Kabul. "He is my only candidate," the former communist youth leader said. "Zaher Shah is the only person capable of stopping the civil war and preventing the disintegration of Afghanistan."

But Hussein believes a majority of his compatriots know they cannot go back in time to find a solution to their current problems.

"A restoration is impossible," he said. "The majority of people are in favour of a republic."

Zaher Shah, for his part, said he would be willing to return to Afghanistan if a majority of Afghans want him to, but only as "a simple Afghan citizen."

# Conflicts Continue on Tajik-Afghanistan Border

7/20

**By Kate Braithwaite**
*The Moscow Tribune*

Concern over military policy in conflict-ridden Tajikistan grew as a leading democrat expressed fears that the military response to last week's raid on Russian border defences by Tajik rebels could escalate still further.

Gavriil Popov, leader of the Movement for Democratic Reform and former mayor of Moscow, called for the immediate withdrawal of all Russian troops from the border zone. "Events are unfolding according to the same scenario that led to the Soviet involvement in Afghanistan," he told journalists on Monday.

Russian military involvement in the area indicated a threat that "forces that want to hold the Commonwealth of Independent States together by force are active," he said, according to AFP.

"We must pull out of Tajikistan. If we don't, it will mean catastrophe for reforms and for democracy in Russia," said Popov.

Meanwhile, Russian Security Minister Viktor Barannikov arrived in Dushanbe on Monday to oversee Russian operations on the Tajik-Afghan border amid reports of further border incidents.

Barannikov's visit to Dushanbe follows that of Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev last Friday, when he vowed that Russian forces would avenge the lives of military personnel killed in the border zone last Tuesday.

The Tajik-Afghan border became a hot-spot of Central Asian tension after the Russian parliment approved the use of increased force in the area following the attack. Twenty-four Russian military personnel and four civilians were killed in the incident, in which Afghan-based Tajiks, opposed the the Dushanbe regime, crossed into Tajik territory.

The Russian Army's 201st division, based in central Tajikistan, has been moving forces up to the border area following the incident. And Reuters

JULY 21. 1993

# Kabul, Moscow Clash Over Border

**By Kate Braithwaite**
*The Moscow Tribune*

Officials from Dushanbe, Moscow and Kabul engaged in a campaign of loud-speaker diplomacy on Tuesday, following last week's resolution to send more troops to Tajikistan after the recent raid by Afghan-based guerrillas on a Russian-manned, Tajik-Afghan border post.

The three governments mixed bellicose statements, accusations, denials and calls for negotiation in a verbal sparring match that appeared to be testing the intentions of the opposing sides.

Abdumalik Abdullajanov, Prime Minister of Tajikistan,told Moscow journalists on Tuesday that the Tajik government had no plans to invade Afghan territory following the border violence.

"We are not going to take revenge. We are searching for a political solution," he said.

But he warned that Tajikistan would retaliate if there are any future raids into the republic: "If your neighbour comes into your house with an axe, you are not going to kiss him."

At a press conference earlier the same day, senior officials of the Russian Security Ministry took a more openly aggressive stance, saying that Russia reserved the right to carry out preemptive strikes across the border, following the breach of Tajik boundaries by what they claim were Afghan mujahedeen, or Islamic holy warriors.

"The border guards have received orders to use fire to prevent any concentration of the enemy even across

## NEWS ANALYSIS

the border," said Security Ministry Chief of Staff General Vladimir Bondarenko, who expressed the personal opinion that Russian troops also had the right to raid Afghan territory if border violations do not cease.

And Alexander Tymko, head of Russia's borderguard headquarters, said that a pull-out of Russian forces from Tajikistan, called for on Monday by leading democrats in Moscow, would be self-defeating.

He said that the case of Azerbaijan was an example where the retreat of Russian border troops out of the republic merely moved the zone of tension closer to Russia itself.

"We can retreat all the way up to the North Pole," he said, "But as the troops withdraw, the conflicts move with them."

The security officials reiterated the claim that forces from the Afghanistan 55th artillery division took part in last Tuesday's raid, in which at least 24 Russian military personnel were killed during an 11-hour engagement at the remote border post.

This has been denied by Kabul, where representatives of the Afghan government counterclaimed that Russian artillery bombardments killed at least 300 people in Northern Afghanistan — an accusation in turn denied by Dushanbe and Moscow.

Despite its claims, the Kabul government yesterday told Russia and Tajikistan that it would be willing to hold peace talks.

The situation in Tajikistan is complicated because the borders of the Tajikistan state, created by Stalin in 1929, do not coincide with the area inhabited by ethnic Tajiks. There is a large indigenous population of ethnic Tajiks in both neighbouring Uzbekistan and Afghanistan.

In addition, up to 60,000 members of the Tajik opposition have fled across the border to Afghanistan after they were forced out of Tajikistan when the current pro-communist, pro-Russian government came to power last November.

Moscow's liberal press warned on Tuesday that the Russian government, by its bellicose stance over the border incursion, risks involving Russian troops in a foreign quagmire supporting an untenable pro-communist administration in Dushanbe.

"Russia is pushing itself into an alien conflict which is developing along the lines of the Afghan war," said the daily newspaper Nezavisimaya Gazeta.

But for hard-liners and many in the Russian military, who have watched the retreat of Russian power across the world with dismay, the defence of the Tajik border could become the symbolic sticking point beyond which they believe Russian military must not withdraw.

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reported the arrival in Dushanbe of further military reinforcements from Moscow on Saturday.

Although the border guard command in Dushanbe described the situation in the border zone as "under control", unofficial Russian military sources told *The Moscow Tribune* that crossfire on the border continued yesterday. Radio Kabul also announced that at least eight more people were killed and 15 injured in attacks on Monday by Russian troops. This activity follows a border-area attack on Sunday in which, by Reuters' estimates, over 300 were killed and 600 wounded.

Up to 60,000 armed Tajik opposition forces fled to Afghanistan after they were defeated in last year's civil war. The fighters mainly backed the country's Islamic government which collapsed last December when the current pro-Russian, ex-communist government took power.

Moscow sees the continuation in power of the present Tajik government as vital to stemming a tide of Moslem fundamentalism in the area. Tajikistan, with its Persian speaking population and ethnic links to Iran and Afghanistan, is seen as particularly vulnerable to religious extremism.

7/20

*Rustam Saidov from Dushanbe contributed to this report.*



The Moscow Times

# Afghanistan: Russia's Border Attacks Enrage

By John Jennings
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

SAMTI, Afghanistan — Azizullah buried his two neighbors in a shallow grave scraped out of the sunbaked earth. In a voice that trembled with rage, he said they were killed in a bombardment by Russian troops across the Oxus River in Tajikistan.

The troops are there to block Islamic rebels from crossing the border and joining the guerrilla campaign to overthrow Tajikistan's government. Azizullah has nothing but contempt for them.

"Do you see any Tajik guerrillas here?" he asked. "There is not even a dog in these villages."

Civil war has sundered the former Soviet republic since the spring of 1992. Last year, most of the militant Moslem rebels were driven into the southern part of the country and many fled into Afghanistan.

Russia, increasingly worried that Islamic fundamentalism will spread throughout the region, has sent thousands of troops and border guards to Tajikistan. On Saturday, the Kremlin and other Central Asian republics agreed to send more.

Afghanistan's Islamic government denies the Kremlin's charge that it is aiding the guerrillas. But the Afghan leadership, weakened by internal disputes, exercises little control in the countryside, which is run by heavily armed warlords.

Nightly, state-run Radio Kabul reports incursions into its territory and bombing raids by Russian planes.

"They fire at random" said Hamidullah, a commander of government troops.

"They think Tajik guerrillas will approach their positions from here."

Suddenly an earsplitting roar from across the river ripped through the night. Hamidullah and his forces hit the dirt.

Samti, like dozens of neighboring villages, is littered with the remnants of the Russian Katyusha rockets that nightly slam into Afghan territory.

Samti is deserted. Most of its inhabitants have fled to neighboring villages. Many of them scurry home at night to harvest crops and repair their homes.

Under the moonlight, Nazeem Gul, 17, wearing the traditional Islamic headcover, tended her cattle.

"There is no firing today maybe, but, you can never be sure," she said.

Across the river a brush fire crawled up a Tajik mountainside. Hamidullah said the Russians set the fire to stop Tajik guerrillas from crossing.

A greater incentive against crossing at Samti is a large border post referred to by locals as "Russian House."

On the compound sits a tank and a truck-mounted Katyusha launcher.

"The Russians are continuing their aggression against the Afghan people," said Sayed Ahmed Ruheen, governor of Takhar province."I was commander of the mujahedin in this province during the jihad and not a single one of my men has crossed the river," he said.

Qari Rehmetullah, the governor of neighboring Kunduz province, said after 14 years of battling Soviet soldiers and the Moscow-backed government in Kabul, most Afghans are weary of war.

"We have our own country to rebuild and we have no desire to meddle in Tajikistan's internal affairs," he said.

August 11, 1993

# 6 CIS Leaders Set Tajik Crisis Talks

By Marc Champion
MOSCOW TIMES

Leaders of the five Central Asian republics will arrive in Moscow on Friday for a summit meeting with President Boris Yeltsin aimed at sending a joint peacekeeping force to the explosive border between Tajikistan and Afghanistan, Russian officials and diplomats said Thursday.

The talks will begin Friday with a bilateral meeting between Yeltsin and the president of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, on a day that promises to be politically turbulent for the 62-year-old Russian president.

The Supreme Soviet is due to convene a special session to attack Yeltsin's policies, while his cabinet will meet in a session that some analysts believe will end in a showdown between the reformist and conservative wings of his government.

The Central Asian leaders are scheduled to meet Yeltsin on Saturday morning, when the six countries hope to agree to a mechanism to send joint forces to defend the Tajik-Afghan border, according to spokesmen for the Kremlin and Central Asian embassies in Moscow.

"We are losing time in Tajikistan. It is very urgent that we get agreement on a joint force now," one diplomat in the Russian Foreign Ministry said in explaining the rationale behind the hastily called summit.

The presidents of Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov, of Kyrgyzstan, Askar Akayev, and of Tajikistan, Yemomali Rakhmonov will represent their respective republics at the talks, while Turkmenistan, which has already indicated its unwillingness to contribute troops, will send Deputy Prime Minister Boris Shakhmoradov.

Clashes between Russian troops and guerrillas from across the border in Afghanistan have escalated sharply over the past few weeks, after more than 20 Russian border guards and 100 Tajik nationals were killed in a raid on July 13 by a joint force of Tajik opposition fighters and Afghan mujahedin.

Since then the Afghan government in Kabul has claimed that Russian bombers have killed 300 villagers on its side of the border.

Within Tajikistan violence has also worsened after the government this week opened a new front against the opposition, which it fought and defeated in a civil war last year.

These developments, together with the memory of the Soviet Army's 10-year war in Afghanistan, have raised fears that Russia could be drawn into a growing conflict that it would be unable to control.

"We cannot afford to have another Yugoslavia in Central Asia," said the Russian diplomat, lamenting that the former Central Asian republics had failed to implement an earlier plan they had signed to send joint peacekeeping troops to the border.

In a related development, The Washington Post reported Thursday that the U.S. State Department has adopted a new strategy to help resolve conflicts in the former Soviet Union.

The strategy would promote U.S. mediation as an alternative to Russian peacemaking efforts in the region. Washington now considers these efforts suspect due to the influence of nationalist, and even imperialist, officials in Moscow, the report said.

"We welcome any efforts to help mediate these conflicts, whether from Washington, the United Nations, NATO or any international organization," said a Foreign Ministry official, who asked not to be identified.

Russia's costly embroilment in Tajikistan is unpopular at home, adding to a series of political setbacks that have damaged Yeltsin's popularity over the past few weeks.

August 6, 1993

# Stop Raids, Yeltsin Tells Central Asians

By STEVEN ERLANGER
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Aug. 7 — At an unusual meeting today, President Boris N. Yeltsin appealed to Central Asian leaders to help defend the old Soviet border with Afghanistan against incursions stemming from the civil war in Tajikistan, a former Soviet republic.

Russian soldiers have been dying again in battles with Afghans on the mountainous border of Tajikistan, which has brought back some old nightmares here.

Some 15,000 Soviet troops died in the Soviet war in Afghanistan from 1979 to 1989 in a vain effort to defeat an Islamic insurgency. Not only did the intervention fail to preserve a Communist Government in Kabul, but it also did much to undermine the one in Moscow.

### Defending Against Insurgents

Now Russian troops are trying to defend a weak, former Communist Government in Tajikistan against Islamic insurgents who have found refuge and support from their Tajik brethren in Afghanistan.

After 25 Russians died in a cross-border raid by the insurgents in July, Mr. Yeltsin dismissed their commander and the Russian Security Minister, Viktor P. Barannikov. Mr. Yeltsin declared that the Tajik border was effectively Russia's, a crucial bulwark against "Islamic fundamentalism" spreading through the region and into Russia itself.

No Western Government publicly criticized Mr. Yeltsin's claim, acknowledging that Tajikistan has become a client state of Russia and Uzbekistan. Uzbek troops also fight in Tajikistan, and the Uzbek President, Islam A. Karimov, has used the threat of Islamic fundamentalism there to justify suppressing his democratic political opposition.

Mr. Yeltsin, aware of the political unpopularity of Russians fighting Afghans, asked Central Asian leaders to help defend the border. The leaders of Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan signed a statement on the inviolability of borders, which they would all help to patrol. Turkmenistan, whose leader did not attend the meeting, refused.

### Yeltsin Calls for Negotiations

But Mr. Yeltsin also urged the Tajik Government to negotiate with the opposition. "Military measures are not our choice, but in this situation, it is hard to avoid them," Mr. Yeltsin told the meeting in the Grand Kremlin Palace. "But political steps are also required to regulate this crisis."

He urged the acting Tajik head of state, Emomali Rakhmonov, "to establish direct dialogue with the opposition, with all its elements," and said the Tajik Government should be reorganized to reflect all ethnic and clan interests.

A similar appeal last week from the Russian Foreign Minister, Andrei V. Kozyrev, was rejected by the Tajik Foreign Minister, Rashid Olimov, who said it was impossible to talk with "people whose hands are covered with blood."

But Mr. Yeltsin, who called today for "measures of reconciliation, not suppression," is harder to ignore. His call was supported in a statement from the Tajik opposition, which urged peace talks and a "neutral government." Mr. Rakhmonov is expected to meet the Afghan President, Burhanuddin Rabbani, later this month.

Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan have been the most skeptical. The Kyrgyz President, Askar A. Akayev, said he disagreed with a strategic analysis of Tajikistan in terms of religious fundamentalism. "Islamic fundamentalism is a thing more of the past," he said. "Today, the problem is more one of clan interests."

### Kazakh Urges Regional Effort

The President of Kazakhstan, Nursultan A. Nazarbayev, who has been urging a renewed political and economic union with Russia in a core group within the Commonwealth of Independent States, said joint commonwealth peacekeeping forces could resolve problems like the Tajikistan conflict.

The Clinton Administration, concerned that Mr. Yeltsin will be dragged into unpopular intervention, has decided to name a coordinator for regional affairs to help resolve disputes in the former Soviet Union, at least when the combatants welcome such help. American officials confirmed a Washington Post report that the job will go to James Collins, deputy chief of the Moscow Embassy, sometime in the fall.

The officials said the idea had been reported before the Russian Foreign Ministry had been consulted, causing embarrassment, especially for "the democrats in the Government," who are likely to be criticized again for kowtowing to Washington.

Today, in a sardonic commentary on the appointment, Pravda said that Washington had not yet decided whether to use the Somalia or the Bosnian variant of "pacification" here. "Soon the Russians won't have to worry about their fate anymore," the paper said. "Uncle Sam will take care of everything."

### International Peace Efforts

The American officials said Washington would continue to emphasize peacekeeping efforts by organizations like the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, already working in troubled regions of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Moldova.

Resolving the civil war in Tajikistan will be hard for anyone, given the overwhelming bitterness. A struggle between the clans in the northwest who had been favored by the Communists and the poorer peasants and mountain people to the east, who are more observant Muslims, became full-scale war a year ago.

Democratic and Islamic forces won a temporary victory in May 1992, but were driven out of the capital, Dushanbe, and over the border into Afghanistan in extremely vicious fighting, in which most of the wounded were killed.

It is estimated that up to 20,000 people died in six months and that perhaps a tenth of the population of 5.1 million was displaced. These totals make the war far more deadly than any other conflict in the former Soviet Union.

A draft report prepared by Helsinki Watch and the Russian Memorial Human Rights Center says that "gross violations of human rights" continue in Tajikistan, including torture, extended detention and the destruction and elimination of any independent news media or political or social organizations.

Tajikistan was the poorest of the republics of the Soviet Union and has more than 600 miles of border with Afghanistan. It also borders China, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. Like the rest of Soviet Central Asia, it had independence thrust upon it when the Soviet Union collapsed and was almost entirely unprepared to run its own affairs.

NYT 8/8

# Dushanbe, Kabul Hold Crisis Talks

By James Kynge
REUTERS

DUSHANBE, Tajikistan — Afghanistan's foreign minister arrived in neighboring Tajikistan on Tuesday for the first bilateral talks since border fighting intensified a month ago.

Hidayat Amin Arsalla was met at Dushanbe airport by his Tajik counterpart Rashid Alimov. They are charged with preparing a bilateral summit between Afghan President Burhanuddin Rabbani and Tajik leader Imamali Rakhmonov, to discuss a conflict which is ringing alarm bells across the whole region.

The former Soviet republic of Tajikistan has accused Afghan forces of training and arming Tajik rebels who have launched a series of frontier raids. Kabul denies the charge.

"We want peace, quietness and stability in Tajikistan," Arsalla told journalists at the airport. "Tajik problems are our problems because Tajikistan is a friendly country," he added.

The strife began after Moslem rebels lost a civil war to ex-communist forces in Tajikistan and then fled in their thousands into northern Afghanistan, from where they have staged a series of guerrilla attacks.

Last month the rebels launched an attack on Russian border guards, killing 25 troops.

Russia, Kazakhstan and three Central Asian states, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, agreed Saturday to take collective responsibility for defending each other's borders.

But foreign diplomats in Dushanbe said that even if a summit were arranged it might have little effect on the border conflict.

"It is uncertain how much control Rabbani exerts on the field commanders near the border who are helping the Tajik rebels," said one diplomat.

MOSCOW TIMES 8/11

# In a Corner of Afghanistan, Mines Are Cleared

**By EDWARD A. GARGAN**
*Special to The New York Times*

HERAT, Afghanistan — Ahmed Shah is 18, but he looks older in his green jungle fatigues. His job is to lie on his stomach and use his bayonet to clear dirt from the top of mines left over after the war in Afghanistan — while somehow managing to avoid blowing himself up.

"In the last year three of us have died, but that decision is made by someone else," Mr. Shah said, a tinge of fatalism creeping into his voice. "We faced a lot worse in the war."

Asked why he risked his life that way, he burst into laughter and said, "For the money and for the people of Afghanistan."

Here, in the country's distant western reaches near the border with Iran, rebuilding has begun as the people cope with the effects of 14 years of war. While people work to clear mines, schools are starting, and this city on the crossroads of ancient invasion routes is creeping back to life under the domain of an emerging ruler.

In the old city vegetable hawkers trundle bicycle-wheeled carts over rutted roads, and carpet dealers pad down alleyways with their wares slung over their shoulders. Along the main street of the old town, Haji Haider, Herat's oldest kebab maker, fans the coals of his grill as skewered lamb and fat sizzle under a tattered awning that marks the entrance to his earthen-chambered restaurant.

In strictly political terms an emerging emirate is being born. A former Afghan Army officer who led a revolt against the Soviet forces in 1979 and formed his own guerrilla army is working, with the help of his traveling column of troops, to persuade local leaders to submit to his authority.

## Separate Kingdom In the Making

The self-proclaimed emir, Ishmael Khan, provoked a ferocious assault by Soviet troops when he led the revolt in 1979, when, people here say, 20,000 people were killed in three days. Today, Mr. Khan professes allegiance to the Government in Kabul, or what shaky and ineffectual Government survives there. Here he is revered, not as a delegate of some central government, but as the rightful ruler of the region.

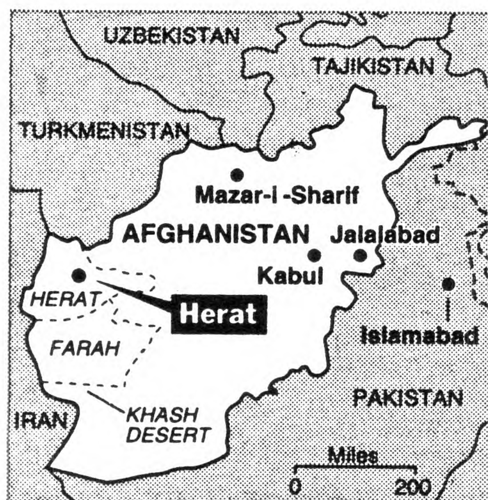
Herat, like Mazar-i-Sharif in the north, a city controlled by a former old regime militia leader, Abdul Rashid Doestam, is jelling, less as a part of a larger Afghanistan, and more as a separate kingdom, or state. Kabul, the capital, remains riven by factional conflicts, with the nominal national Government controlling just sections of the city 16 months after the fall of President Najibullah.

The nominal prime minister, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, remains outside the city to the south with his radically fundamentalist guerrilla forces, occasionally lobbing rockets into the downtown marketplaces. The President, Berhanuddin Rabbani, hunkers down in the capital, administering a patch of devastated urban landscape, his fiat extending not even as far as the mountains that surround the capital.

Here in Herat, inside the Great Mosque, a 13th-century legacy of the Ghorid dynasty, Faisal Ahmed, 50, and 10 other tile cutters swung their chisels in metronomic rhythm. Throughout the war Mr. Ahmed went to the mosque to shape the tiles to replace those smashed by bullets and rockets, cracked by age or dislodged by the desert winds.

"I was here during the war," he said, resting his chisel for a moment. "My home is very close to the mosque, so it was safe. But now things are a little better. We have peace now. So that is good."

But Mr. Khan, as the ruler of Herat, a domain that extends from the border with Turkmenistan in the north, south into Farah Province and the Khash Desert, is struggling to breathe life into a kingdom pulverized by war, to cope with the tidal wave of refugees' being forced back into Afghanistan from Iran and to contend with Iranian-instigated efforts to transform the region into a medieval Islamic state.



The New York Times

A new emirate is emerging as Herat rebuilds after years of war.

"Peace and stability have returned to Herat for the last year and a half," the senior United Nations official here, Rudy A. Rodrigues, said. "Ishmael Khan is not only a very charismatic leader, but a very popular one. People respect and admire him. Wherever he goes people throw flower petals at him. I've seen him moving around town without his bodyguards. There's a genuine respect for him as the emir."

## Supposed Route To World Power

The devastation of Herat in the war is the latest chapter in a turbulent history. Through here many conquerors marched, convinced that Herat was a linchpin to world domination. Alexander the Great and Genghis Khan moved their armies over the deserts, as did Tamerlane, who left mosques and minarets to mark his presence.

Little of those legacies remains. On the western edge of the city a sea of eroded adobe walls, the wreckage of more than a decade's bombing and shelling, spills into the silent desert.

The mausoleum of Gawhar Shah, the 15th-century queen to Shah Rukh, its blue-tiled dome pockmarked by rifle and cannon fire, stands alone in the old battlefield. Five towering minarets soar 150 feet into the windswept sky, several punctured with shell holes.

Through the scarred landscape, scattered beneath the dun-colored earth, are perhaps as many as one million land mines, laid first by the Soviet Army to protect the city from guerrillas to the west, then by the forces of the successor Communist regime in Kabul and lastly by the Islamic guerrillas. Removing the mines will take decades.

"We have cleared about 1,500 mines since Nov. 22," said Zulmaneer Ahmed, who is overseeing the five teams of Afghans clearing the area. "During the mine clearance three brothers have been martyred and five others injured."

After the war the Australian military sent teams to train Afghans in finding and destroying mines. The teams, equipped with dogs and German mine detectors, are deployed across the country. But last month, in a decision that an Australian diplomat in Islamabad called horrendous and obscene, the Australian Government ordered the trainers withdrawn.

"What will happen," the diplomat said, "is that slowly but surely more Afghan de-miners will be injured, and slowly but surely more will be killed."

## Rare and Popular School for Girls

The Atoon Harwayi school for girls embodies the horror that swept over western Afghanistan in 14 years of war, a conflict that left miles of shattered houses, millions of land mines and a society unsure of its identity and of how it is to rebuild. When the school opened last year, a few hundred girls were expected. More than 1,800 arrived on the first day, so students took a United Nations shipment of pencils and carefully broke each one in half so everyone would have a stub.

The school is the sole educational institution for women in the region, and it exists in the face of opposition from the Islamic clergy who have decreed that women belong in the home, not in school or the workplace. The emir has defied the clerics, insisting that girls deserve education and that women may work.

Despite Mr. Khan's imprimatur, the shattered mud walls of classrooms — covered from the sky by sheets of cloth — the frayed mats on dirt floors and an absence of books mirror the skeletal quality of life.

"We have no chairs, no tables, no books," the principal, Nasreen Qiyam, said. "We need to find a new building, because this house belongs to someone. We have 40 teachers here, but there isn't any set curriculum. We teach what we know. We teach what we can."

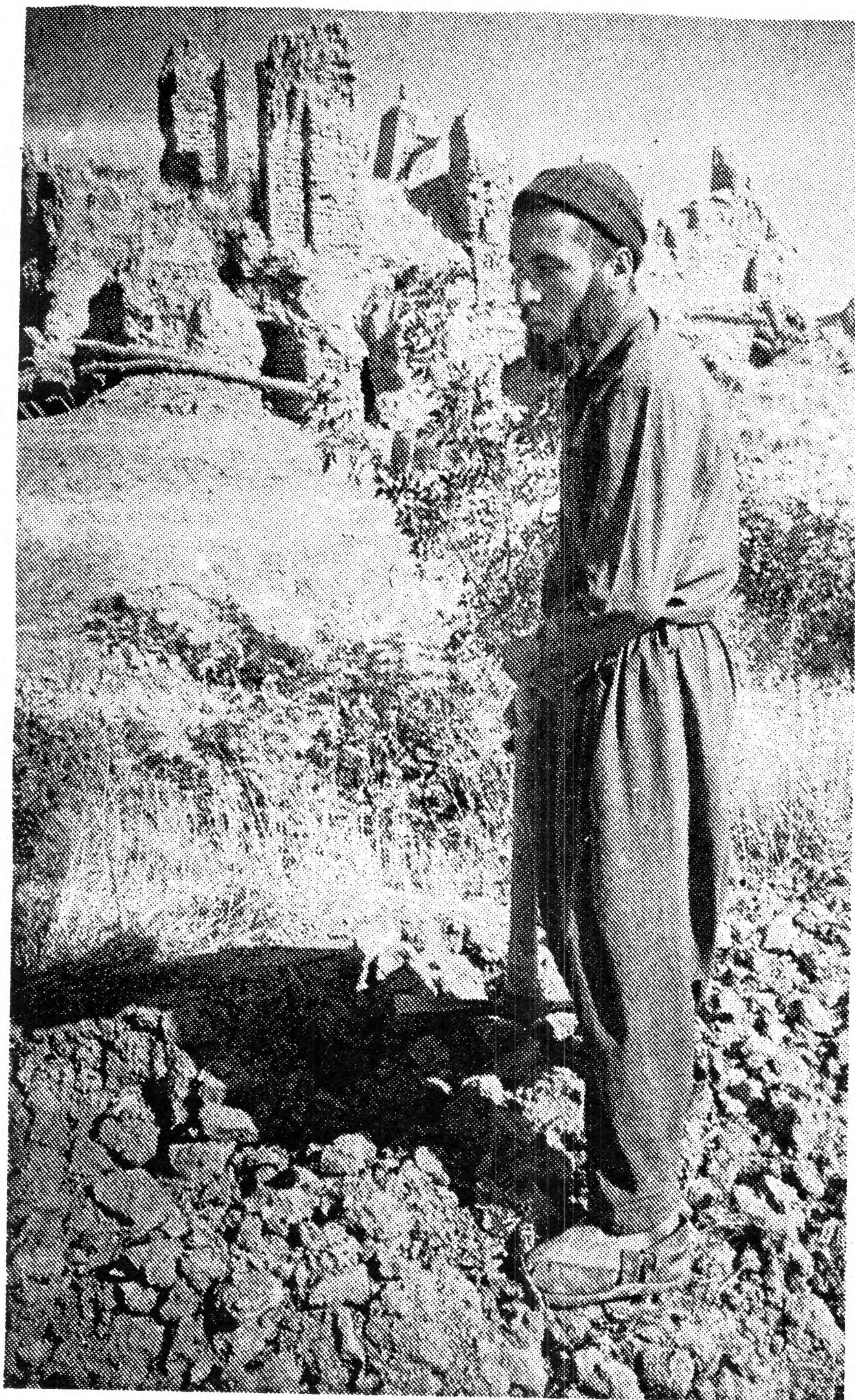
Layleman, a tiny 8-year-old pupil, her head swathed in a white scarf, her flowered dress draped by a black cloak, spoke softly, a poem rushing from her lips like advancing rain.

*I ask my mother where is my father*
*She says he is away on a trip*
*Every day I ask when he will return*
*And every day he does not*
*I realize he will not return*
*I realize he is dead.*

Then, as quietly as she came, she scurried back among her schoolmates.

# and a Bold Emir Emerges

THE NEW YORK TIMES JULY 27, 1993



Edward A. Gargan/The New York Times

After 14 years of war, the task of rebuilding is immense for the natives of Herat near the western edge of Afghanistan. While markets return more quickly, a resident faces the longer task of erecting a new home.

They stood silent, one clutching Layleman's hand.

Along the western periphery of the city, the minefields are marked by red flags. But for the tens of thousands of Afghans being pushed across the border by Iran, those who waited out the war in relative safety, the perils of their homeland are unfamiliar and unexpected. Along every street here, people maimed by mines hobble by on crude crutches.

## The Refugees' View Past Donated Yurts

"The attitude of the Iranian Government has made it quite clear to the refugees that this is the time to go home," said Robert Adam, a field worker for the International Organization for Migration, an independent group based in Geneva, as he surveyed an encampment of 280 Mongolian yurts donated to the refugee program.

Said Amir sat inside a yurt, his wife leaning against its lattice framework rocking their youngest child in her arms. "I came a week ago, from Iran," he said. "The Iranian Government is not allowing us to work. They forced us out. They don't allow our children to go to school."

"Before the war I was a student in Mazar-i-Sharif," he said. "Now I'll just be an ordinary laborer. We don't have any house in Mazar. But we will build one. We'll move on in five or six days."

While many returning Afghans merely stop here on the way to distant homes, many more are putting down roots in Herat, living in huts amid the rubble of long-abandoned homes, beginning to rebuild their adobe brick homes. But the Government of Ishmael Khan has few resources, and less expertise at reviving an economy, the city or his kingdom.

What little reconstruction being done is carried out by a small team of United Nations workers. The hospital has been renovated by Unicef. Several roads, corrugated, decaying asphalt strips, are being relaid in a United Nations food-for-work program. Canals neglected for 14 years are being cleaned with support from the world body, and refugees forced over the border are being sent on their way with United Nations provisions and money. The men who are clearing the millions of mines are being paid with United Nations money, too.

Even so, paying for the projects has become a day-to-day endeavor. Sotirios Mousouris, the special representative of the United Nations Secretary General who is overseeing the world body's efforts for all of Afghanistan, said in his office in Islamabad:

"We are in crisis. We have requested $138 million for the year. We have $37 million. We are in a deep crisis in demining. The money is running out. We have money for only three weeks."

But the United Nations is not welcomed by everyone in Afghanistan. In February three United Nations workers were assassinated in Jalalabad, in the eastern part of the country. United Nations officials say they believe that militant Muslims committed the killings to drive outside influences from the country. That animosity to the United Nations has not escaped Herat, where conservative clerics have tried to agitate against the organization.

## Caught in Midst Of Power Struggle

"There's a big power struggle going on," a United Nations official here said. "The Iranians have made vague threats against us. The security people told us to fire the women working for us. Ishmael Khan said to ignore it. And many of the mullahs, who are backed by Iran, have tried to stop the school for girls. The Government has told people they cannot watch videos. This is because of the mullahs. But many people feel things are not liberal enough here to bring Afghans back from abroad. It's still too early to know how these things will be resolved."

Dr. Hussein Katiby, a gynecologist, said he was worried about precisely such problems. His family is still in Iran, although he stayed in Herat for much of the war.

"In the daytime I worked in the hospital here," Dr. Katiby said. "Then at night the mujahedeen," as the guerrillas who fought the Soviet Army were called, "would take me across the lines to treat their fighters. Sometimes I walked, sometimes by bicycle, sometimes by donkey. Now the security is O.K. here, but for my children there is no education. I'm waiting for the education system to get better before my family comes back."

"I love Afghanistan, of course," he said. "Will it ever be back to normal? I don't know. Nobody does. There is so much to be done. Maybe, someday, my children will see it like it once was."

From the Editor:

If there were a Special Olympics for politics, Afghanistan & some of her neighbors would be right up there. Rabbani is scheduled to visit the UN early in October; there are rumors that he shouldn't get a round-trip ticket. However, the photo below (KT 7/8) shows the ship of state firmly ensconced!

The Afghan Mission to the UN has beautiful new quarters on Lexington Avenue; the offices will also house the soon-to-be-opened Afghan Consulate.

We were overwhelmed with the amount of material for this issue. Many, many thanks to all who contributed. The deadline for the next issue is November 1.

# THE NEW CABINET LIST

| Ministery | Minister | Party Affiliation |
|---|---|---|
| Education | Jalilullah | Harkat Inqilab |
| Hajj & Endounment | Arsalah Rahmani | Hrakat Inqilab |
| Forein Affairs | Amin Arsala | Mahaz (Gailani) |
| Frontiers | Salman Gailani | Mahaz (Gailani) |
| Planning | Ali Jawaid | Harakat (Mohsini) |
| Work & Social Affirs | Husain Anwari | Harakat (Mohsini) |
| Higher Education | Sayyed Umar | Ittihad (Sayyaf) |
| Housing | Ahmad Shah | Ittihad (Sayyaf) |
| Finance | Karim Khalili | Hezb Wahdat |
| Trade | Hayatullah Balaghi | Hezb Wahdat |
| Agriculture | Noorullah Emad | Jami'at |
| Water & Power | Eng. Ayoub | Jami'at |
| Culture | Deen Mohammad | Hezb (Khalis) |
| Justice | Jalaluddin Haqqani | Hezb (Khalis) |
| Health | Dr. Fatimi | Jabha (Mujaddidi) |
| Civil Aviation | Hashmatullah | Jabha (Mujaddidi) |
| Communication | Qazi Waqad | Hezb (Hikmatyar) |
| Roads | Faiz Mohammad | Hezb (Hikmathar) |

* Ministers of Defense and Interiour will be appointed by the council of commanders.
* The remaining ministers will be appointed later. AFGHANews July, 1993

The names of more Ministers appear in an article on p. 35.



President Rabbani meeting General of Army Abd ul Rashid Dostom.

# U.S. Increases Fund To Outbid Terrorists For Afghan Missiles

By TIM WEINER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 23 — The Central Intelligence Agency's covert operations division will spend $55 million in a new effort to buy back more than 300 Stinger antiaircraft missiles it gave to guerrillas fighting the Soviet-backed Government of Afghanistan in the 1980's, Government and intelligence officials say.

The effort reflects the agency's fear that it may be outbid by terrorists and hostile governments in the black market for the Stinger, a lightweight, shoulder-carried, highly accurate antiaircraft missile considered the best weapon of its kind, the officials said.

They said Iranian and North Korean espionage agents and Islamic militant groups were bidding to buy Stingers from demobilized Afghan rebels starved for cash in a country shattered by years of war and privation.

### Some Obtained by Iran

"The Iranians have already captured or otherwise obtained some Stingers and continue to try to accumulate them," said Edward S. Juchniewicz, who was the C.I.A.'s associate director for covert operations from 1982 to 1986. "I understand why people are exercised. I wouldn't want one to hit the airplane I'm on."

The Stinger, which finds its targets with a homing sensor that locks on to the heat of an aircraft's engines, is capable of destroying aircraft at a range of seven miles or more.

The new effort to reclaim the missiles, which was first reported in The Los Angeles Times today, followed a $10 million effort that proved insufficient, the officials said. The spending increase reflected the intensity of bidding for the weapons, they said.

The fate of the Stingers is a particularly messy aftermath of one of the cold war's great struggles. The C.I.A. and the Pentagon secretly shipped nearly 1,000 Stingers to the Afghan rebels from 1986 to 1989. At least 300 are now unaccounted for, officials say. The missiles were a small but highly significant part of a $3 billion covert action program, the intelligence agency's biggest paramilitary operation since Vietnam.

The Stingers helped turn the tide in the rebels' nine-year war against the Soviet Union, which sent troops into Afghanistan in 1979. Their deployment in Afghanistan represented the only known front of the cold war in which American missiles shot down Soviet pilots.

### Use Against U.S. Is Feared

Now the C.I.A. fears that the missiles, gone astray, could be used against Americans.

"The Stinger problem is very complicated," said Zalmay Khalilzad, a former Pentagon and State Department official involved in the program to support the Afghan rebels. "The problem is you get in competition with Iran, and they can outbid you. A lot of different Afghans have the missiles, and they are in bad economic shape. The price can go up when Iran and others compete for buying them."

Mr. Juchniewicz said Iran might try to exchange the highly valued Stingers for military equipment it covets, including long-range ground-to-ground missiles being developed by North Korea.

Despite the threat posed by the Stingers, Mr. Juchniewicz said he had few regrets about supporting the Afghan guerrillas, known as mujahedeen, or holy warriors.

"One makes the assumption when one goes to battle that one's equipment will be captured by the enemy," he said. "So unfortunately we lost some Stingers, and now our enemy has one of our best weapons. But the Stingers turned the war in the mujahedeen's favor."

Reflecting a widely held view among American intelligence officials that the Soviet loss in Afghanistan was a fatal blow to the Soviet Union, he added: "The Stingers broke the Soviets' back. Isn't the danger posed by a handful of Stingers worth the dissolution of the Soviet empire?"

The bidding for the missiles will take place in a strange international bazaar. In Afghanistan today there is little law and order, and weapons and heroin are the primary commodities. Travelers from more than 40 Islamic countries go there to learn from the rebels who stared down the Soviets.

Among them were two World Trade Center bombing suspects, Ramzi Ahmed Yousef and Ahmad M. Ajaj, and two men indicted on charges of conspiring to murder politicians and blow up Federal buildings in New York, Clement Hampton-El and Siddig Ibrahim Siddig Ali, Federal investigators say.

Some of the Afghan rebels have turned against their former patrons. "Some of the same people who are actual or potential terrorists in this country are former guerrilla fighters in Afghanistan," said David Whipple, the C.I.A.'s former national intelligence officer for counterterrorism.

To reclaim the missiles, the agency must depend on Pakistan's intelligence service, which distributed the C.I.A.'s weaponry during the war.

The Pakistanis favored the most radical and anti-American of the Afghan rebel leaders, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. By dint of his superior arsenal, Mr. Hekmatyar became Prime Minister of Afghanistan earlier this year. He and commanders loyal to him are believed to control a significant number of the Stingers. Mr. Hekmatyar also has made alliances of convenience with Iran.

"Hekmatyar was occasionally close to the Iranians, and we were not blind to that," said Fred Ikle, who fiercely supported the Afghan program as Under Secretary of Defense for policy in the Reagan Administration.

NYT 7/24

Excerpts from the 7/23 LAT

U.S. agents have been finding themselves outbid for the accurate, shoulder-launched rockets that now fetch upward of $100,000 apiece on the black market, officials said. The weapons originally cost $25,000 to $30,000 each. . . .



The CIA originally hoped to secure the Stingers in exchange for humanitarian supplies or postwar reconstruction material, although various offers were all spurned.

During the George Bush Administration, the CIA requested and was granted $10 million for Operation MIAS (for "missing-in-action Stingers"), but the sum proved insufficient as the price of the weapons rose on the open market, the sources said. . . .

The Stingers have become part of Afghan postwar lore. Stories abound of guerrillas toting their Stingers by camel or donkey to offer them at extraordinary prices to bidders ranging from Arab extremists to Western diplomats.

Gamma-Liaison/Evans-Spooner, 1987

Fear of terrorism is causing the Central Intelligence Agency to buy back 300 Stinger missiles that they sold to Afghan guerrillas.

# Aid to Afghan Rebels Returns to Haunt U.S.

By Thomas W. Lippman
Washington Post Staff Writer

The roundup of Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman and other Islamic militants in the New York area is writing a sour last chapter to one of the great U.S. foreign policy success stories of the 1980s: U.S. support for the Islamic insurgency that drove Soviet troops out of Afghanistan.

Many current and former government officials, independent analysts and Arab diplomats are now saying Washington "created a monster" by encouraging a rebellion based on religious zealotry without stopping to analyze what would happen if the zealots triumphed.

Several of those detained in New York for their alleged involvement in the World Trade Center bombing or plans to attack other high-profile targets participated in the Afghan rebellion as recruiters, trainers or fighters, according to U.S. investigators and Arab diplomats. Abdel Rahman, now in federal custody in New York state pending deportation proceedings, was reportedly a prolific recruiter, preaching sermons urging young men to join their Muslim brothers in the war, according to reports from Cairo. An Afghan link extends as well to a number of accused terrorists in Egypt, Algeria and other Arab countries.

Through Pakistani channels, the CIA provided weapons, money and training for the Afghan insurgents because they were fighting Washington's Cold War rival, the Soviet Union, whose troops invaded Afghanistan in 1979. Young men from several Arab countries not directly involved in the conflict, including Egypt, Jordan and Algeria, went to Afghanistan to join what they viewed as a "holy war" against communist invaders.

These young men learned about military tactics, weapons and explosives. Retaining their zeal and their skills long after the last Soviet troops pulled out of Afghanistan, they have become a recurring threat to other nations, including the United States, according to officials and diplomats.

THE WASHINGTON POST
JULY 26, 1993

The United States did not create the Afghan insurgency. Inspired and aided by revolutionary Iran, Afghan militants were conducting a guerrilla war against the pro-Moscow government in Kabul even before the Soviet invasion. But after Soviet troops moved into Afghanistan and were perceived as a threat to Pakistan, the United States embraced the Afghan militants as its Cold War proxies.

"The flame that was burning, once the Soviets left, continued to burn," said Robert B. Oakley, who monitored the war as U.S. ambassador to Pakistan. He said the Afghan war had the same inspirational effect on young Muslim men in several countries as the Republican cause in the Spanish Civil War had for idealistic young leftists in the 1930s.

They watched the mullahs of Iran overthrow the pro-Western shah, then saw Iranian-supported rebels take on the Soviets in Afghanistan. They accepted arms and money from the United States, although today Iran, not the United States, is their cultural ideal.

"There was no recognition until very recently," Oakley said, "that these people might come back to the United States or raise hell in other Muslim countries."

According to Charles Hill, who was executive assistant to then-Secretary of State George P. Shultz through much of the administration of President Ronald Reagan, "there was no naivete about who these guys were, they weren't sweethearts." But it "never crossed anybody's mind" that their campaign against infidels would continue against new targets, including the United States, after the Soviet withdrawal.

"We had tremendous battles inside our government over who was getting our resources and whether we were creating a monster, but only after the Soviet pullout," said a senior U.S. official who asked not to be named because he is still involved in regional policy issues. "Before the Soviet pullout, it was open season, just kill as many Russians as possible."

In his recently published memoirs, Shultz refers to the Afghan rebels as "freedom fighters" and reports only one policy disagreement about aiding them: The Defense Department opposed giving them Stinger antiaircraft missiles out of fear that they would be lost to Soviet troops or sold to terrorists elsewhere. Ultimately the United States did provide the shoulder-held missiles, which were instrumental in neutralizing Soviet air power.

Shultz named Morton Abramowitz, then director of the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research and now president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, as a leading advocate of deploying the Stingers.

"Everyone knew there was great concern about some of these people" who received them, Abramowitz said, "but that was not clearly relevant. The main focus was to do our best to get the Soviets out."

The Defense Department's fear that the Stingers would fall into the wrong hands appears to have been well founded. Reports last week in the Los Angeles Times and New York Times said the CIA is seeking $55 million to purchase missiles that are showing up in the international black market. A CIA spokesman refused to confirm or deny the reports.

Jack Blum, a former investigator for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said that during the war, "the call went out to the dispossessed of the Middle East, so they could go fight in a holy war, but there was no thought given to the 'disposal problem,' as they called it after the Bay of Pigs." Blum was referring to the Cuban and American survivors of the failed 1961 invasion of Cuba, many of whom were later involved in criminal activities in this country and elsewhere.

"We spent a lot of time looking the other way in Afghanistan," Blum said.

According to accounts at the time and the recollections of several officials, Pakistan insisted on giving most of the aid to a particularly extreme, anti-Western faction in Afghanistan, at the expense of more moderate elements. The United States tolerated this arrangement because that group "killed the most Russians," one former official said.

According to Bernard Rubin, a scholar of Afghan affairs at Columbia University, "anyone here who suggested we should be concerned about the politics of the groups we were aiding was considered terminally naive. The objective was to kill Russians."

He said U.S. policy did contribute to the creation of a monster, but "the monster's name is Hekmatyar, not Abdel Rahman." Gulbuddin Hekmatyar headed the most extreme and most anti-Western of the Afghan groups, the one favored by the Pakistani intelligence service that controlled the distribution of money and weapons. Hekmatyar is now prime minister of Afghanistan—and still fighting the Russians in a border conflict in Tajikistan.

Several former officials said the United States would have preferred to use other Afghan groups, less anti-Western and motivated more by nationalism than religion, as its anti-Soviet proxies, but was obliged to defer to Pakistan because Pakistan was the supply channel. Pakistan's powerful intelligence service favored Hekmatyar, who reportedly had been its agent in Afghanistan for many years.

Algeria and Egypt, under siege from religious militants including veterans of the Afghan war, have tried to deflect U.S. criticism of their crackdowns on the extremists by blaming the United States for creating the problem in the first place. According to the Egyptians, the Pakistani city of Peshawar, which was the support center for the Afghan resistance in the 1980s, remains a base for Arab extremists left over from the Afghan war and now looking for new targets—such as the pro-Western government in Cairo.

"You should have supported it as a nationalist struggle against an invader, not as a jihad [Islamic religious campaign] against an infidel," an Egyptian official said. "The way it turned out, the extremists beat one secular country, now they're turning against others."

Rubin said such criticism is "misdirected. It's part of a diversionary tactic on the part of unsuccessful Arab regimes to find external scapegoats."

According to Oakley, the United States should not be blamed for the activities of the Arab freelancers who signed on with the Afghan cause.

"That was not our network," he said. "The United States was not financing or recruiting the people from the other Muslim countries. That was a whole parallel operation that started long before we got there."

LETTER FROM JALALABAD
May, 1993

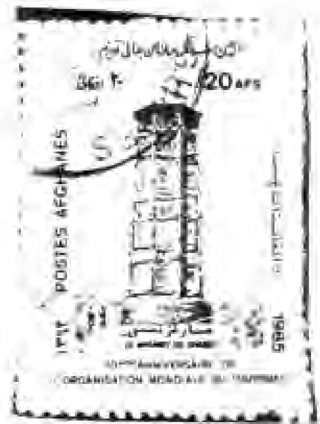
The road to Jalalabad from the Khyber Pass was in fair shape when I traveled it in early May, only occasional sections missing; airporter-type buses and passenger-carrying pickups were running every day, although the Pakistan state bus lines, GTS, had not yet reopened service to Afghanistan. Perhaps every 10 miles there were roadblocks, consisting of several mujahideen and a cord strung across the road. We routinely paused then rolled through. On other places men were hunkering by the highway, one Kalashnikov per group of three, say, along with occasional RPGs (rocket propelled grenades) and machine guns. What these people were doing, or what roadblocks were supposed to accomplish, remained obscure. The end of every bridge was stencilled "ACLU" - Afghan Construction & Logistics Unit - a group funded mostly by USAID that has been doing the large projects like road and bridge building.

Coming into Jalalabad, an hour and a half or so from the border, there were Russian jeeps and many newish Toyota pickups (certainly the vehicle of the jihad) in the streets, as well as beat-up trucks and buses, horse carts, and crowds in the bazaar. A good friend and old Jalalabader told me business was 85 or 90% of normal, and the stores seemed well stocked. At a few of the busiest intersections were traffic cops in baggy green uniforms and white officer hats, a visible symbol of order. Few weapons were seen in the city (vs. countryside), though armed bodyguards surrounded numerous important personages. In fact the aggressive vehicles of the commanders, their title now interestingly changed to commandants, constituted a good part of the traffic.

In addition, water and electricity were generally working. Nangrahar Gov. Haji Qadir has benefitted from this perceived sense of order: his popularity may have made him the coming man on the political scene. Of course Nangrahar benefits from its position next to Pakistan: foreign aid groups can easily reach it, and the provincial government benefits from levies on the "cross-border trade." Engineer Ghaffar, an important Hezbi-Islami commandant and now commissioner of customs, over a complete breakfast that included everything from flat bread to Coke, chuckled when I mentioned Kabul, then generously allowed that they had a 30% "normal relations" with the Rabbani government. Ghaffar claimed monthly revenues of 400m Afs. ($400,000 US), mostly from customs duties. On the other side of the ledger, the bulk of the expenditures was said to be going for salaries to prevent "brain drain" - and to subsidize the men of 10 or so major commandants (like Ghaffar) who had perhaps 50 or 100 mujahideen each. That meant (apparently) that all reconstruction & development funds had to come from somewhere else - the outside.

One reconstruction project I saw was the resuscitation of the irrigation system in the Kama Valley 10 miles east of Jalalabad. In Kama only some 10% of the prewar inhabitants had returned because of the lack of water - an estimated 500 families out of 5,000. For an area so close to Pakistan this was somewhat unusual; UNHCR in Peshawar, even reckoning the recent arrivals from Kabul, estimated that about half the refugees had returned to Afghanistan, mostly to the border provinces now made more accessible to Pakistan by new roads. Still in Pakistan were the people from the more distant places, and from the provinces whose economy was closely connected with Kabul.

In Kama, the Swedish Committee, with major help from UNDP and ACLU, was leading the effort to clean the canals and, most importantly, rebuild the intake from the Kunar River. Several hundred Afghan workers were paid a typical wage of




7 kg of wheat per day. One worry in early May was lack of manpower: 50 had left for poppy picking.

There was some uneasiness among the foreigners working in Jalalabad after the murder in February of two Europeans with UNHCR. The one time I rode around town with an Englishman after dark, he carefully peered under the car for bombs.

The major event during May was the gathering in Jalalabad, sponsored by Haji Qadir, of a number of important leaders, including Rabbani and Hekmatyar. Unfortunately, I can't say that I saw much of it. The meetings were held in the inner chambers of the old summer palace, and reporters and observers were generally not allowed inside. It was widely reported that the leaders themselves were somehow restricted to quarters. When I queried some informed Afghans about this, they smiled enigmatically. If the leaders were not free to go, how Haji Qadir managed this without enraging Jamiat and Hezbi-Islami was not explained. Certainly the palace, a rather graceful Moghul-Victorian structure (the main entrance topped by a large caliber machine gun under a striped umbrella advertising a brand of cigarette) was not surrounded by masses of troops as Jamiat reported, at least when I was there. There were never more than 20 soldiers at any one time, and they were teenagers in ill-fitting uniforms, trying unsuccessfully to look snappy in white gaiters and aiguilettes. What really happened to keep the leaders in the summer palace for some three weeks is a minor mystery. As for the May 18 agreement, though most people dutifully voiced optimism, few seriously believed this sort of ricky-tick set-up could work in the real world.

After a week in Jalalabad I took a side trip up to Kunar, where I had lived for 2½ months with a group of mujahideen in 1988. The commander and two of his erstwhile lieutenants were now in the timber business - run out of a Hekmatyar compound at Sarkani, while their families still lived in Pakistan. In Asadabad I was present at a public execution. A mujahid had murdered a former KHAD man; now the KHAD man's father (also supposedly associated with KHAD) was on trial for the revenge killing of the mujahid. Led by members of the provincial shura, the crowd of several hundred men unanimously approved the execution. He was taken down by the river and shot with a Kalashnikov.

The Afghanistan I saw was in a kind of limbo. The shrewd Saeed Wahidi, head of the Afghanistan-Nothilfe aid group, told me that people were holding back in rebuilding; if there were a real peace, there would be a blossoming. Technocrats who worked under the PDPA regime are suspected as collaborators by the former mujahideen. Many Pashtuns reject a "federal" solution, which the minorities would accept. People who liked Massoud are now as irritated with him as with Gulbuddin: Both were seen as only out for themselves or their parties.

Paul Overby

# Central Bank high commission meets

KT 6/7

The High Council of Afghanistan met under the chairmanship of Eng. Ahmad Shah Ahmadzai deputy- premier and minister of interior on May 10. Present were Eng. Mohammad Yaqub Lali, Minister of Mines and Industries, Shah Mahmoud acting finance minister, Gulabuddin Sherzaie acting minister of commerce, Hamidullah Tarzi minister without portfolio for economic affairs, and deputy ministers of the planning and agriculture.

At the outset, Ashraf Shah first deputy president of the Afghanistan Bank presented a report on the activities of the central bank in the recent months which received the approval of the council.

Assessting the issues on the agenda the council resolved that as for, clearing dollars, the ministries of planning and foriegn affairs should undergo new economic commercial protocols with the new commonwealth countries of the former Soviet Union and De Afghanistan Bank should stop purchase of such currency till new contracts are concluded.

The need of the state institutions is waived of this decision and the date the common price by the common price by tde common price by the executive board of the bank.

The council also recommended that the clearing dollars which are received from the Bank of Moscow by the traders and institutions and are deposited with De Afghanistan Bank should be directly deposited into the account number of the traders without being purchased by the bank itself, to enable the national traders obtain their required goods from the countries they get their clearing dollars and freely open letters of credit. The Afghan political and commercial missions abroad, too, are supposed to encourage the Afghan national traders in this respect. (BIA)

# ONE MILLION AFGHANS LOST LIMBS IN LAND MINE BLASTS

## *20 MILLION MINES REMAIN HIDDEN*

—Peshawar

About one million Afghans have lost their limbs to land mine blasts during the last 16 years, says a UN study.

More than 20 million land mines remain concealed in Afghan soil, endangering lives and adding to the miseries of the nation, in which 1.5 million lives were lost during the Soviet invasion.

According to the study, if mine clearing operations sponsored by the United Nations continue at the same rate, it will take decades to clear Afghanistan of mines.

Anti-personnel mines cause serious injuries, including amputation, but are not as fatal as anti-vehicle mines, which cause death.

The study says more than 30,000 may have been killed in land-mine blasts. Men and boys have been the chief victims.

Provinces facing the worst land-mine problem are Kandahar, Kabul, Ningarhar, Zabul, Herat, Helmand, Farah and Ghazni.

Hospitals in Quetta, Pakistan, receive 40-50 land-mine injuries weekly from Kandahar province alone.



Two of the one million Afghans whose limbs have been torn off by Soviet land mines.

Muslim World Monitor — Aug. 27, 1993

## HEKMATYAR TOURS PAKISTAN, IRAN, TURKEY

Afghan Prime Minister Gulbaddin Hekmatyar visited Pakistan, Iran and Turkey last week to negotiate several regional issues.

Hekmatyar sought the help of Pakistan to reconstruct Afghanistan, discussed returning 1.5 million Afghan refugees living in Pakistan, and sought to streamline the Transit Trade Agreement between the two countries. Pakistan and Afghanistan also agreed to mediate the Tajik issue if required.

During his visit to Tehran on Aug. 20, Hekmatyar said that an agreement had been signed between Tehran, Kabul and the United Nations to return two million Afghan refugees currently in Iran before winter. Kabul and Tehran also have set up an anti-narcotics committee to expedite their campaign against drug trafficking in the region.

## The impending catastrophe

**About** fifty thousand Tadzhik Muslims have died, two hundred thousand have taken refuge in Afghanistan, three hundred thousand are uprooted and several thousand are fleeing to Moscow and other places of the CIS. This situation is totally new since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Because of the war the output of the country has fallen by more than 30 per cent. The scarcity of consumer commodities has resulted in such steep price rises that people are eating leaves and roots.

Yet the media has kept so silent, as if nothing has happened in Tadzhikistan. They are concerned only about 'Islamic fundamentalism', which is a myth according to the *Moskovskie Novosti*, No.4, 1993. It argues that the combined forces of Russia, Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan have forced Islam to go underground and that it would take an ugly shape in due course. And the refugee camps in Afghanistan would become permanent sources of tension, creating a new region of conflict in Central Asia similar to the Afghan crisis in the 1980s. The influence of Islam in Tadzhikistan was miscalculated by its opponents. The government authorities cannot explain how Islamic 'fundamentalism' has become so popular, although during the 70 years of communist rule there were only eight mosques and no Islamic educational institutions (see *Nezavicimaya Gazeta*, 23 February, 1993). According to the Tadzhik foreign minister Rashid Alimov, 92 per cent of the people of Tadzhikistan do not want a religious state.

The present Tadzhik government is not willing to discuss the peaceful return of the refugees. So, they have no alternative other than fighting the regime. It has created regional tension. The internal situation in Tadzhikistan is as war-like as it used to be in Afghanistan in the 1980s. The Tadzhik Mujahideen, as the rebels call themselves, are giving the regime a tough time from both inside and outside. The regime frequently uses the civilian airport, planes and helicopters disrupting the civilian flights and bombarding the Mujahideen in the mountainous area of Badakhshan. The Gorno-Badakhshan autonomous region has a huge concentration of refugees and is a stronghold of anti-government forces. Here, like in many other places the refugees, especially children and women are living under inhuman conditions due to lack of food, shelter and medicine. Teenagers are becoming children of the street, resulting in social crimes. According to a medical aid worker in the region, young girls are committing suicide rather than live an undignified life. Women have protested in front of government buildings against the killing of their children. Tadzhikistan does not have its own aviation forces. Uzbek and other CIS conscripts who fought in Afghanistan are deployed in Tadzhikistan. In Dushanbe, the army guards important buildings. Killing, looting and injuries to innocent people have become the daily norm. People are scared to return to their homes and workplaces. Refugees near the border of Kirghizstan claim that they left their homes because of regular air attacks. Tadzhik secret service personnel have gone to Moscow and other places to monitor the activities of the refugees and to keep an eye on the anti-government leaders who issue statements and appeals to the newspapers. *Nezavicimaya Gazeta* and *Moskovskie Novosti*, both published from Moscow, have frequently focused on the Tadzhik situation. Those arrested are kept isolated in Tadzhikistan and neither their family members nor their solicitors are allowed to see them.

Government supporters show video films to demonstrate the torture against the 'Islamists'. Recently the prime minister of Tadzhikistan, Abdumalik Abdullozhanov, informed that the anti-government war led by the rebels from the border of Afghanistan is of serious concern to the government. But he claimed that the people trust the present government. Imamli Rakhmanov, the president of Tadzhikistan, has claimed that the rebels have been able to continue the fight at the cost of selling their women and children in Afghanistan.

According to the present regime's understanding, democracy cannot survive in Tadzhikistan. Nor can Islam offer anything without bloodshed, as a way out. The best option is to have the previous system reinstated. The regime justifies the legitimacy of Russian and Uzbek interference in that the Islamic and democratic alliance is the enemy of other nations. The Tadzhik leaders and refugees have sent a message to President Yeltsin requesting him not to help the communist regime of Tadzhikistan as he himself is fighting for democracy in Russia. But so far Yeltsin and his government have ignored this appeal. Rather deployment of the Russian army is escalating the war.

CENTRAL ASIA BRIEF 3/93

# OPINION

To the Editor:

An earnest appeal for Help! Help! Help! A small group of unworthy, nonqualified and power-hungry Afghan freedom fighters treacherously made an alignment with the Sethami & Parchami Communists & sabotaged the peace plan of the United Nations. Although this evil action was condemned by the vast majority of Afghans, it nevertheless laid the groundwork for the present barbaric & vicious treatment of the people of Kabul by the various fundamentalist factions. It also caused the discontentment of the UN & the USA, thus causing them to disregard Afghanistan & its tragedies.

It is not the fault of the Afghan people. They should not be condemned for the unforseeable acts of the present fanatic & ignorant groups struggling for power.

Since April 1992, Kabul City is burning in the fire set up by the fundamentalist factions who receive direction from the outside neighboring enemies of Afghanistan & the various Communist groups, e.g., Sethamis, Parchamis & Khalqis.

It would be very difficult for a nation to function normally without a government for a short period of time. Afghanistan has not had any government for the past 16 months.

Mullah Rabani, who is half Sethami & half fundamentalist, kidnapped democracy through bribery & announced himself as the president of Afghanistan; in spite of this he has not succeeded in maintaining simple law & order in the city of Kabul. Public property was looted, civilian houses were robbed & plundered, women were raped, & 2/3 of the people were forced to flee the city of Kabul and leave their houses & possessions behind. Most of the public buildings, including mosques & hospitals, were completely destroyed. In addition, 2/3 of the civilian houses have been leveled to the ground.

During the past 16 months of Mullah Rabani's so-called presidency, there has been no electricity, no running water & no municipal services. Several thousand civilians, including women & children, have been killed. The number of injured is countless. Schools, universities & public offices are all closed.

None of the children & family members of those who call themselves leaders live in Kabul. Instead, their families live abroad all safe & sound while the rest of the people of Kabul suffer.

Furthermore, recently, the Kabul House of the Blind & Retarded was looted & the retarded women were raped by the sick & insane freedom fighters of Sultan Rabani. Additionally, the Iranian-backed party of Wahdat initially helped Ahmad Shah Massoud become the victorious hero, resulting in the rise of Sethamis to the Kabul court & making Rabani the Sultan & Amir-ul-Moaminin. The members of the Wahdat party have been poisoning food, fruits & water, causing the death of hundreds of women & children & deep disturbance of the general public of the city of Kabul...

I really don't know why the int'l community & the UN have been ignoring these atrocities which are unheard of elsewhere.

The world is approaching the year 2000 with amazing scientific, social & economic progress in the world community, but, unfortunately, Afghanistan has been forced by the fundamentalists to relive the era of Genghis Khan & the Mongols.

I strongly believe it is the duty of the UN & the peace-loving countries of the world, particularly the USA as the world's only super power, to help end the present atrocities & human tragedy in Afghanistan.

We, the Afghan people, remember the American anti-aircraft missiles which stopped the movement of the Soviet gunship helicopters & resulted in the overall victory of the Afghan people over the Soviet invaders. We, the Afghan people, are very thankful to American people & their government for their help & their support during the Soviet occupation.

Once again we need the help of the USA & the UN in bringing peace & restoring democracy & a government of the people, not a gov't of the Mullahs, fundamentalists, Sethamis, Khalqis or Parchamis. Nevertheless, the help at this stage does not require such expenses as was involved in the 1st stage.

I would also like to mention that in the beginning of the current year, a group of Wethersfield (CT) High School students belonging to Model UN made a trip to the UN headquarters & talked with the Afghan Mission. They studied the Afghan dilemma very comprehensively & made suggestions to address the problem.

The UN, on the one hand, is unhappy with Afghanistan on the issue of sabotaging the UN peace plan. On the other hand, not only didn't the UN take any action, but to my great disappointment, the UN still supports the present incapable, disqualified & unlawful regime of Mullah Rabani by accepting the credential letter of the recently installed representative to the UN.

Sincerely,

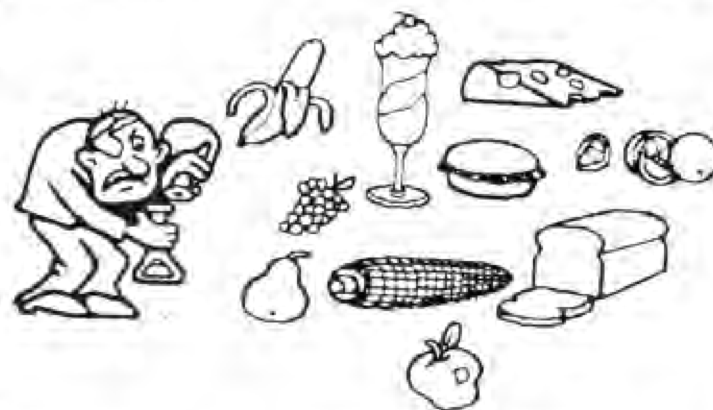
Malalai Wassil
Wethersfield, CT

[The writer is a Junior at Wethersfield High School.]

# Poisoning, cholera: Kabul new hazards

**People are afraid to eat fruit and vegetables in Kabul. For one month, some people are getting sick after eating fruits and vegetables. Radio and TV warn people of the presence of poisonous fruits and vegetables in the capital.**

About two weeks ago, the security forces disclosed that some people who were allegedly involved in poisoning vegetables and fruits have been captured. Most of the captured people are teenagers who admit to be hired for money to inject poison into fruits and vegetables. So for, more than 20 people such people have been captured.



The Health Minister, however, shrouded the issue of deliberate food poisoning with doubts. He told foreign reporters that his ministry did not have facilities to identify the types of poison used and has received no reports about the samples he sent to the World Health Organization (WHO) for analysis.

This interview angered the security organizations of the Islamic Sate which have captured more than 20 of food poisoners. Some of the captured people say that they were hired by followers of Hezb Wahdat to commit the crime. Hezb Wahdat denies its involvement in this crime and accuses the government of the implicating it. Hezb Islami of Hikmatyar alleges that former KHAD people are involved in this crime.

In view of this politically charged atmosphere, the denial of the Minister of Health could be understood. He belongs to Mujaddidi's party which is in alliance with Hezb Islami and Hezb Wahdat. It is believed that the Health Minister's interview is an attemp to cover up the issue for political reasons. In view of such accusations and counter accusations, WHO might find it difficult to announce the result of the test on the samples sent to it.

The cases of food poisoning has decreased recently. This could related to the measures taken by the security people and cooperation by people in identifying and capturing of food poisoners.

Food poisoning has also been reported from the provinces.

Cholera has spread in Kabul and some provinces. A source in the Health Ministry said 26 case of cholera have been registered in Kabul and 40 in the northern city of Pul-i-Khumri. WHO and other relief organizations have sent supplies of medicine to prevent the spread of this deadly diseas.

Experts say that lack of clean water in Kabul is the cause of this disease. Most parts of Kabul lack clean drinking water. The supply system of drinking water was damaged during the successive rocket attacks on Kabul. The people drink water from shallow wells which are not healthy.

Due to shortages of fuel and vehicles, the Kabul municipality cannot remove the garbage from the city. The presence of great amounts of garbage in the streets, during the hot season, is a health hazard to the people.

AFP reported that cholera cases have been registered in Tajikistan too.

AFGHANews Vol 9, No 13, August, 1993

# Poison sprayers caught

**JULY 8, 1993** KT

Evidently our citizens have learnt that subversive and criminal groups are resorting to a chain of heinous moves anti-Islamic and inhuman plots to reach their own vicious designs and to disrupt the public normal life in Kabul city. For instance, groups of these criminals have employed their own hirelings and children between 11-14 to inject poision and to spray a poisonous substance on fruits and vegetables, which are daily needs of the citizens. A number of the citizens have been poisoned, whereas a number of these culprits have been detained.

Right away learning from such a heinous conspiracy, the Kabul city security forces embarked on some serious and well-thought measures, as a result of which, some of the criminals were caught. The detainees have confessed to their crimes and have disclosed, in the course of interrogations that had been assigned by elements attached to Mazari branch.

Serious arrangements are under way to catch the perpetrators of such crimes and the citizens will be let know in details later on. (BIA)

# infighting PT 8/25

**From Ghulam Tahir**

QUETTA, Aug. 24: Thirty Afghan Mujahideen were killed and score of other received serious injuries following a gun battle between the two factions belonging to Prime Minister Engineer Hekmatyar and Maulana Burhanuddin at Kandhar today according to information received here.

* * *

Both the factions are now trying to establish control on Kandhar city some 150 miles from here.

PEOPLE

# Without peace, Afghans hopeless

By Julia Helgason
DAYTON DAILY NEWS

In his white coat, with stethoscope in hand, Khodaidad Basharmal doesn't stand out from other physicians making rounds at Good Samaritan Hospital and Health Center.

It's his history that sets him apart. Basharmal has held high political offices in his native Afghanistan. Until recently, he was his country's representative to the United Nations.

At 47, Basharmal has come full circle.

He began his study of medicine in Texas in 1970 and completed 16 months internship and residency at Good Samaritan in 1973-74.

He went home in 1974 and settled into a quiet life, teaching physiology, raising a family and maintaining a small medical practice.

Then civil war erupted. Basharmal lost his position at the university and was without work for a year.

But his talents were too precious to waste.

Educated men and women who understand people problems and world dynamics are at a premium anywhere, but particularly in Afghanistan, an impoverished nation where three-fourths of the people are illiterate.

Basharmal was soon pressed into service by the People's Democratic Party, which had come into power.

He was appointed first secretary in his home province of Laghman. Soon after, he also was first secretary in adjoining Jalalabad.

Most Westerners think of the People's Democratic Party as a communist party. Basharmal said it was primarily a reform party, though communists were members.

The party was an amalgam of groups who favored land, cultural and educational reform, he said, and was socialistic in its philosophy.

Friendly relations with the old U.S.S.R. were expedient, Basharmal said, because of Russia's proximity to Afghanistan and because of long-standing cultural and trade ties. Basharmal personally did not approve of Russian soldiers on Afghan soil, he said, but he was powerless to stop them.

In 1979, Russian troops entered the country to back up the government under the People's Democratic Party. At that time, the party was attempting to implement extensive reforms that would prepare its people for life in a modern world.

The reforms met with strong resistance from those who favored the status quo and who feared the atheistic Russians would suppress the national Islamic religion.

Fierce fighting ensued.

By then, Basharmal was chief governor of the eastern zone of Afghanistan. The eastern zone, one of eight zones in the country, is made up of the provinces of Laghman, Jalalabad and Kkunar, on the Pakistani border.

The doctor's eyes glisten with excitement when he speaks of the five years from 1979-83.

"It was a good time in my life because it gave me an opportunity to serve my people," he said. "In those days, I had a deep connection with my people — with the young, the old, the children. The president and the prime minister supported me, and I was able to bring about some positive changes."

Basharmal tried to prevent fighting between various factions in his territory, he said. "And I tried my best not to allow Russian soldiers in the villages."

Through improved security, the zone he governed became the safest part of the war-torn country. He boasted that because of dangers in other cities, "all of the foreigners and journalists stayed in Jalalabad."

Basharmal also increased agricultural production and trade, but he is proudest of the progress in education.

"When I took over, nobody wanted to be a teacher," he said. "So I raised teachers' salaries and provided other incentives."

By the end of his term, the eastern zone had more schools, more teachers and more students than any other in the country, he said. He also was instrumental in sending Afghan students to study abroad.

He credits his wife, Laila, with a big assist. Because she was a teacher in Jalalabad, she understood the problems of teachers, he said.

Basharmal said he could have done more for his people if the country had not been at war. "My position was so high I could do anything in my zone," he said, "but without peace and money, I was limited. You cannot build roads when roadbeds are mined."

In 1983, Basharmal became deputy foreign minister. Two years later, the president appointed him head of the country's Department of Education, Sciences and Public Health, similar to a U.S. Cabinet post. After the Soviet withdrawal, he served as Minister of Education.

His diplomatic career began in 1990 when he was made ambassador to Poland where he served during the transfer of power to Lech Walesa.

Next he was sent to New York as ambassador to the United States and Afghanistan's representative to the United Nations.

He could accomplish little in his role as ambassador, he said, because the United States did not recognize the government of Afghanistan. He was limited to informal talks with other diplomats, explaining his country's problems and seeking aid.

Just before a transfer of power in March, Basharmal learned he would be appointed ambassador to Zimbabwe, and he resigned, returning to Good Samaritan and a residency in internal medicine.

He said he feels fortunate to have a profession that will provide an ongoing income. He said he also is fortunate that his four children will be able to complete their schooling in the United States.

Yet he can't help thinking of home.





IAN UNDERWOOD/DAYTON DAILY NEWS

Dr. Khodaidad Basharmal at Good Samaritan left politics behind him when Afghan problems multiplied

DAYTON DAILY NEWS
DECEMBER 26, 1992

# He's Caught the Ears of Afghan Immigrants

By SUSAN BYRNES
SPECIAL TO THE TIMES

He calls himself the Rush Limbaugh of the Afghan community.

By day, Farouq Tamiz is a real estate broker in Van Nuys, but every Tuesday night, his voice booms controversy into the homes of thousands of Afghan immigrants living in Southern California.

In the eight years since he created the Radio Voice of Afghanistan on KFOX 93.5-FM to protest the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the 47-year-old Kabul native said he has endured threats, nasty letters, even a monthlong suspension by the station.

The controversy he generates has only enhanced his fame.

From the dozens of letters he gets each week from both fans and enemies to the regulars who frequent the Muslim Family Market in Van Nuys, everybody has an opinion of Tamiz. The show is the main topic of discourse for the estimated 1,000 Afghans who live in the Valley.

Tamiz points with pride how his supporters promised to stage a protest when he went off the air last spring. Dissenters promised to protest if he *didn't* get taken off the air.

Tuesday nights are Tamiz nights in the Afghan community. Love him or hate him, they don't want to miss him.

Some of his critics say Tamiz purposely seeks out the most inflammatory guests and does nothing but brew animosity on his two-hour weekly show.

"Individuals will say the radio program is not doing what it's supposed to, that he fails to bring all views," said Farid Amin, secretary general for the Islamic Studies and Invitational Center in Van Nuys, an organization with hundreds of Afghan members. "But a good number of people listen to his program. They don't have anything else."

Some are less forgiving.

David Abedi, chief of political affairs at the Afghan Mujahideen Information Bureau in Van Nuys, an Afghan news and information center, said Tamiz' show is often inaccurate and an embarrassment to the Afghan community.

"As far as we are concerned no one is supporting him," Abedi said. "Listening is something else. If you have one old car—even if it is very bad, or even if you know it might break down on the highway—if you don't have anything else you will drive it."

He added that the show pits Afghans of different political beliefs against one another.

"A radio station should bring peace and equality, and bring people together," Abedi added. "It shouldn't cause riots in the community."

Aimal Hashemeyan, 30, a business owner in Ontario, who is a fan of the show, said the controversy is unavoidable.

"The problem with Afghanistan is that everything is political at this point," he said.

While exact figures are unavailable, Abul Khalili, who heads the social service committee of the Islamic Studies Center, which assists Afghans with immigration papers, estimates that there are more than 9,000 Afghans living in Los Angeles County, with more than 1,000 in the Valley, mostly in Reseda, Van Nuys and Canoga Park.

Aside from a weekly Iranian-Afghan television program on KSCI,



Farouq Tamiz ponders a question from caller during a broadcast.

and a radio program [illegible] Tamiz's brother several months ago, Tamiz' show is the only source of Afghan news and culture for the community that is broadcast in the Pashto and Dari languages.

Tamiz, who in 1988 arranged an interview with Polish Solidarity resistance leader Lech Welesa from his Van Nuys office—which was cut short by the Soviet KGB—makes no apologies for his show.

"I'm a typical American media person," Tamiz said. "I'm Sam Donaldson." Later, he elaborated: "My goal is to explore the truth about politics in Afghanistan. I don't stop myself when it comes to asking the hard and critical questions. It's a new phenomenon for Afghans. They're coming from a background of censorship."

Last spring, Tamiz was prompted by pressure from the management at KFOX to depoliticize his show, when calls and letters to the station became particularly negative.

Tamiz credits the appearance on the show of a military general from the resistance movement in Afghanistan as the last straw. The general mocked the current prime minister of Afghanistan, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, using a crude name. Tamiz said the general changed Hekmatyar's name which literally means "friend of knowledge" into someone who "makes holes in knowledge." The slander caused an uproar in the fundamentalist community that backs Hekmatyar, according to Tamiz.

A spokesman for KFOX said that a break in the show and a discussion with Tamiz were not a ban, but merely an attempt to redefine the course of the program, which under its contract, is supposed to focus on culture, not politics.

"We frown on political shows," KFOX operations manager Paul Wilson said. "We don't want to be a conduit for political dissent. Mr. Tamiz seems to get a rush from inflaming emotions."

Since then, Tamiz has introduced a program for Afghan youths with listener call-in and a variety of young guests who talk about social issues such as marriage, education, and reconciling Afghan beliefs with American ones. Yet it's clear that Radio Voice of Afghanistan won't become "Geraldo" any time soon.

"When the Communists were in power, my goal was to be against them until they were gone," Tamiz said. "Now there are even more tragedies going on today than at the time of the Communists. Somebody has to say it. If I don't, who would?"

Tamiz came to Los Angeles alone in 1969 when he was 23, to learn English and attend Cal State Los Angeles, eventually receiving a master's degree in economics. He teaches a course in economics at Valley College.

Any Afghan politician who visits the United States can count on an invitation to Tamiz's show. He has interviewed such dignitaries as the last Communist ruler, Najibullah, officials in Hekmatyar's government, and all of the resistance leaders.

"I've interviewed practically everybody," Tamiz said. "Except for the ex-King Mohammed Zahir Shah, but he lives in Rome and doesn't talk on the phone." Tamiz, who is married and has one daughter, said he has not been back to Afghanistan since he left in 1969.

"I would like to go back," Tamiz said. "But I'm on the blacklist of every regime that comes into power."

LOS ANGELES TIMES

AUGUST 23, 1993

# Ten industrial projects approved

Ten industrial projects are planned to be established and commissioned in the capital and provinces by the private sector by the end of the Afghan current year (to end by March 20).

These ventures were approved in a recent session of the Council of Ministers' Permanent Commission on Private Domestic and Foreign Investments, presided over by deputy prime minister and minister of interior Ahmad Shah Ahmadzai, reported BIA referring to the CM press service.

The new undertakings which include construction material production, emersion cookers manufacture, colothing, vaccine and beverages production, carpet weaving, chemicals production and technical services, will work on an initial capital of Afs. 953 million and final capital of Afs. 1632 million in Kabul, Balkh, Ghazni and Baghlan provinces. The new projects will provide employment for over 400 citizens.

The session also heard the proposals by Central Department for Encouragement of Private Investment, set forth by its deputy general director.

(BIA)

JUNE 18, 1993 KT

# U.S. no longer notices war in Afghanistan

**Holger Jensen**

It's lonely being an Afghan these days.

For six months now Brig. Gen. Ramatullah Safi, once commander of the Afghan Special Forces and later a mujahideen guerrilla who fought the Soviets with American arms, has been beseeching former allies to intervene in the civil war that is tearing apart his homeland.

But no one is interested. Neither the United States nor the United Nations will entertain the thought of yet another peacekeeping mission in a place that promises nothing but grief. Afghanistan's nine-sided bloodbath makes Bosnia's three-sided affair look easy.

Safi further made the mistake of visiting Denver when the pope was in town. Needless to say, he couldn't compete. His message:

"You Americans paid such a high price for Afghanistan, to lose it now would be stupid."

Billions of our tax dollars were spent arming the mujahideen during their 14-year war against a Soviet-backed regime in Kabul. But the Soviets pulled out in 1989, the Communist government they left behind fell in 1992 and nine Afghan guerrilla factions now are locked in a ferocious struggle for dominance that has left 10,000 dead.

The factions are divided along ethnic, tribal, sectarian and political lines, and their alliances with neighboring countries reflect those divisions. Although their foreign patrons are united in desiring peace for Afghanistan, they would prefer their client faction to dominate whatever new government emerges in Kabul. Which is why the war goes on.

Pakistan supports the dominant Pashtun tribes that straddle the Afghan-Pakistan border. Central Asians are allied with the Uzbek and Tajik tribes. Iran supports the Shia minority in Afghanistan while Saudi Arabia backs the Sunni majority.

In March, Saudi King Fahd brokered a peace agreement that gave all the factions collective responsibility for organizing an election. But it brought no peace. Last week, the warring Afghan leaders agreed to hold internationally supervised elections in October or November — but they continued to rain artillery shells, mortars and rockets on each other's positions in Kabul.

Safi insists that Americans still have something at stake in his country, even though the war against communism has been won. "You are against terrorism and narcotics," he says. "If you help us achieve a stable, sovereign Afghanistan with a strong central government elected by the people, it will no longer be fertile ground for terrorists and drugs."

True enough, Afghanistan supplies about 50% of the world's raw opium, from which heroin is made, and Islamic fundamentalists have taken advantage of the chaos there to establish terrorist training camps.

If we don't care about that, Safi argues, we still have a moral responsibility: We armed Afghanistan, so we should help disarm it. But that argument rarely works with Washington politicians — just ask the South Vietnamese.

Whatever importance the Reagan and Bush administrations attached to Afghanistan dissipated with the end of the Cold War. The only interest the Clinton administration has is buying back 1,000 Stinger anti-aircraft missiles now floating around the Central Asian arms bazaar.

The CIA is paying five times what the Stingers originally cost — $100,000 apiece — because of the high price they command on the black market. Even so, the mujahideen are not being very cooperative, and the big fear is that some of the missiles will wind up in the wrong hands. Our government might then live to regret its lack of interest in Afghanistan.

*Holger Jensen is international editor of the Rocky Mountain News.*

8/17

AFGHANAID, 292 Pentonville Road, London N1 9NR, UK, has redesigned its newsletter. JAHRCHI (pronounced jar-chee) will appear 3 times per year. A jahrchi was the person in Afghanistan who traveled through the streets & villages announcing the news. Afghanaid's projects include a pilot bee-keeping venture in Badakhshan, a fruit tree nursery in the Panjshir, home-building in Kapisa, & agricultural & reconstruction projects in Kunduz & Baghlan. Wynn Flaten is Afghanaid's Field Director in Afghanistan. The following is from the July issue of Jahrchi: جارچی

The world hardly seemed to notice the recent arrival in Pakistan of more than 60,000 refugees from Kabul—most of them women and children. Many are living in the ruins of camps left behind by repatriated refugees. In contrast to the thousands of refugees returning from Iran, at Afghanistan's border with Pakistan more refugees sometimes leave Afghanistan than enter it.

Not all those crossing into Pakistan have fled from Kabul: some are refugees who had previously gone back to their homes, but had been unable to support themselves. An Afghanaid project officer reports: "Many families found it difficult to make ends meet before the war. Their land now produces far less than it did then. They simply don't have enough to live on. Most families hope to find enough paid work to feed themselves, while they gradually rebuild their homes, dig out irrigation ditches and bring their neglected fields under control. But there isn't the paid work to go round. Some families are being forced to sell their livestock to put food in their mouths today, knowing that they will be even less able to feed themselves in the future."

Despite the devastation and the world's indifference, in many parts of the country bazaars are flourishing, farms are being restored, roads rebuilt and crops replanted. The resourcefulness of the Afghan people is legendary. But the Afghans cannot do the impossible: "Even the most resourceful person cannot rebuild a canal with his bare hands, or plant crops if there are no seeds." (US Committee for Refugees)

In the case of the Afghan people, a little would go a long way: asked what kind of assistance she needed to start carpet-making, what type of thread she required, loom sizes, dyes and other accessories, an Afghan woman replied, "Just give me the sheep. I do everything else."

The Washington-based AFGHAN COMMUNITY SERVICES closed its doors this month as the need for its services decreased. Two new Afghan agencies are now serving the Washington community: the ORGANIZATION OF AFGHAN PROFESSIONALS, 6015 Chicory Place, Alexandria, VA 22310 & the AFGHAN ACADEMY, 5568 General Washington Drive, Suite 206-A, Alexandria, VA 22312.

### 1993-4

- *Additional fruit and timber tree nurseries are being set up in Kapisa, Takhar and Badakhshan provinces.*
- *Afghanaid is helping to rebuild a further 200 homes in Kapisa province, following the success of the previous year's scheme.*
- *In order to improve the quality and yields of vegetables, and to provide much-needed vitamins during the winter months, Afghanaid plans to test new and improved varieties of vegetables in all project areas. The tests will assess how well the vegetables grow, how well they suit local cooking methods, and how much people like the new varieties.*
- *Because of improved security, Afghanaid has been able to start work again in Baghlan Province. The current year's projects include repairing irrigation canals and bridges, building flood-protection walls and introducing and testing higher-yielding varieties of wheat.*
- *Field staff are receiving extensive training through Afghanaid's Technical Services Unit, which provides backup to Afghanaid's projects. The Unit has recruited a socio-economist in addition to agricultural and engineering specialists. All of them are experienced and qualified Afghans.*
- *To ensure continuing effectiveness, Afghanaid's committee has ordered an evaluation of Afghanaid's programmes, including recent developments.*



*Porters carrying bees over a rockfall on the journey from Pakistan to Badakhshan province*

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September
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1993

میزان ۱۳۷۲

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The JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY is also available from the Cambridge Univ. Press. Current subscriptions are $54 for individuals & $82 for institutions.

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Rasul Bakhsh Rais, Quaid-e-Azam Professor at Columbia University's Southern Asia Institute, will publish WAR WITHOUT WINNERS: AFGHANISTAN'S UNCERTAIN TRANSITION AFTER THE COLD WAR (Karachi: Oxford University Press) in 1993-94.

"Tajik Refugee Influx Aggravates Afghanistan's Woes" by Marie Okabe in REFUGEES, April, 1993. Pp.26-28. In the same issue: "Tajiks Co-Exist with Afghan Returnees" by Hugh Hudson. P. 29.

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**THE KABUL TIMES**

## Modern course

Founded four years back by Zalmai Wafamal, the "Modern" course which train sits students in science subjects and English language in the third Microrayans has attracted a greater number of students willing to improve their knowledge of different subjects and English in modren systems.

Baryalai Wafamal, a talented teacher of the course who has received his training in Britain told our reporter that the system of the course is the same as being pursued in Britain and it is to be registered by the Oxford University of London.

As regards the course's relations and cooperation with other similar courses in Kabul city Wafamal pointed out that they had tried to maintain better relations and to create healthy competitions which had luckily yielded positive results so far.

Mostly students from the sixth to 12th grades are admitted to the course who receive training in science and English langnage subjects.

Since the course is run privately we procure books and other teaching materials from the free market and distribute them to the students. Currently 580 students both girls and boys are receiving training in ten semesters in two shifts.

As to the future plans of expansion of the services of the course, Wafamal pointed out, in case the Islamic State of Afghanistan provides a suitable building we do possess ample possibilities to expand our services and include in our curricula other international languages and other subjects.

**(Ruqia)**



**Zalmi Wafamal**

# Government threatens freedom of press

The government of Prime Minister Hikmatyar is trying to impose press restrictions. Journalists writing critical articles are also threatened by members of Hezb Islami.

A few days ago, a man went to the government-owned printing press and wanted to know who printed cartoons of the Prime Minister published in two newspapers. He used filthy language against the workers of the press but left before the security men reached.

It worth mention that the State Printing Press was a major target of Hezb's rocket attacks in the past one year, when most of its machinery and paper stocks were set on fire.

The State Printing Press has been directed not print any paper before getting permission from the Ministry of Information.

Prime Minister Hikmatyar wrote a letter to the Ministry of Information directing it to find and punish the journalist of Bakhter News Agency who wrote a critical commentary for the TV and radio.

Prime Minister Hikmatyar has also asked the radio and TV not to report firing of rockets into the city. The rockets are fired from west of Kabul where the troops Hezb Islami and Hezb Wahdat are stationed.

He has appointed one of its close aides, Qaribur Rahman Saeed, as a member the commission supervising the work of the Ministry of Information. He also has been appointed as the caretaker Minister of Information.

Saeed is in-famous for his extremist views against other Mujahideen parties and he has been running the Afghan News Agency, the mouthpiece of Hezb from Pakistan. He is trying to bring the Ministry of Information, especially the Bakhter News Agency, under his control.

Hikmatyar also has been very critical of the foreign journalists working in Afghanistan. Sometime ago Hezb asked foreign journalists working for BBC not to enter into Afghanistan and threatened to try Afghans working for BBC as spies. But Hikmatyar never stopped giving interviews to BBC whenever it suited him.

The direct and indirect steps taken by Hikmatyar to curb the freedom of press must be a source of concern to the intellectual circles in the country. He could make use of the existing press rules to silence the voice of dissidents and put an end to criticism of his government.

The Mujahideen government gave freedom to the opposition to express their views. President Rabbani encouraged journalists to be objective in their reporting. He also allowed different parties to print their papers and time was given to different groups to express their view through radio and TV. The only parties denied this privilege were those actively engaged in armed struggle against the government.

The threat against journalists and attempt to stop publishing papers of the parties is a negative development. How can the Prime Minister who is publishing his paper in Pakistan and is broadcasting radio and TV programs from his military base outside Kabul en justify imposing restrictions on the publications of other political groups?

Any step to curb the freedom of the press will discredit the government-controlled media. By curbing the freedom of press, the people turn to foreign news agencies to get the truth.

The Mujahideen enjoyed good relationship with the world media during the years of Jehad. The media helped them to get the story of their heroic struggle to the rest of the world putting moral and political pressure on the Soviet aggressors. When they liberated Afghanistan, they gave freedom to the international media to cover the situation in the country. Although the coverage given to the government side was in most cases negative, the government tolerated this and never tried to curb the freedom of journalists.

Maintaining working relations with the international media serves the interest of the country. Our country needs support for its reconstruction and the international media could be used to mobilize world opinion to give support to Afghanistan.

Hikmatyar has been complaining that the state radio and TV are being used by one party. This is not true because all parties are given the chance to air their views. If Hikmatyar abandons his self-imposed exile and assumes his responsibilities in the capital he will get better coverage in the media. If Hikmatyar wants to bring radio and TV out under the control of Hezb, it will be a disaster because the TV and radio will loose the the relative freedom they enjoy and will be turned into a propaganda tool to promote one party and one person.

# friends in need friends indeed

Only three foreign humanitarian organizations are operating in Kabul while more than 100 such organization are involved in aid work in Peshawar to help the Afghan refugees.

International Assistance Mission (IAM), an organization offering health services to the people has 30 foreign volunteers in Kabul. This organization has been active in Kabul for many years.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has the second largest number of expatriate aid workers; eighteen foreign volunteers work for ICRC. Until last year, more than 100 volunteers worked for ICRC in Kabul but the organization evacuated most of its staff from Kabul last August when the forces of Hikmatyar launched a massive rocket attack on the city.

Medicine Sans Frontieres (MSF) has four foreign doctors working in Kabul.

These organizations continued to support the people of Kabul while the UN pulled out all its officials and stopped its activities in the capital. Some UN officials visit Kabul now and then but leave the city the same day.

The three above organizations have set a good example by providing assistance to the needy people under extremely difficult circumstances, an honorabale example all Afghans wish the UN would emulate.

AFGHANews



# Avicen moves to Kabul

The French-inspired health agency Avicen that serviced the immunization needs of rural Afghanistan during the Soviet military occupation has agreed to transfer its base from Pakistan to Kabul, the Afghan health minister said.

"Avicen has carried out an excellent program of immunization in more than 20 provinces in Afghanistan," said the minister.

It has been agreed to incorporate the Avicen into the Ministry of Health of Afghanistan but the process will be carried out gradually.

The arrival of Avicen would have a positive effect on reducing the Afghan infant mortality rate (IMR).

"Vaccination is the most efficient way to attack the high level of IMR," said French doctor Philippe Truze, who created Avicen in 1983.

Authorities in the eastern Afghan province of Khost have asked local traders to switch to their own national currency, the afghani, from the Pakistani rupee.

"We have ordered the people to carry out their business in afghanis instead of the Pakistani rupee," deputy provincial governor Dilbar Arman said.

Khost Governor Haji Abdul Qayom Khan said staff had been employed for a bank that would soon start business in Khost.

●●●

## Afghans seek protection in Dushanbe

**The Afghans living in Tajikistan have formed a society to protect their rights.**

Aaqil Bering Kohistani, the head of the society, said the aim of the organization was to protect the rights of Afghans living in Tajikistan and those who have left the country, but have left behind their properties.

He said around 300 Afghan families were still living in Tajikistan and thousands of others had left when troubles began in that republic.

This society was needed, he said, because Afghans are being attacked and their properties are being looted. He claimed that recently three Afghans were killed and their house looted. Afghans living in Tajikistan felt unsafe, he said.

He said his society was trying to encourage the government of Tajikistan to protect Afghans living in that country.

September, 1993

**India has sought help from the United Nations for thousands of people who fled Afghanistan after last year's transition of power in Kabul, Indian Minister of State for External Affairs said.**

**He said Delhi has urged the world body to grant refugee status to 150,000 Afghans who fled to India after the Mujahideen toppled Afghanistan's Soviet-backed regime in March 1992. Most of those who fled are Afghans of Indian origin.**

# Services kept normal despite problems

Functioning as a subsidiary of the Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism the Ariana Afghan Airlines (AAA) plays a significant part in transporting passengers within the country and abroad though the company is facing economic problems. As in other sectors, the AAA too has sustained immense economic losses as most of its planes have sustained damages due to the prevailing upheaval in the country. However, it tried, to the best of its ability, to procure its required spare parts and to undertake montage and thorough repairs of some of its damaged planes with the aim to improve its services. General Director Stating this, Eng. Ruhullah Aman the general director of the AAA indicated that despite the huge problems it was encountering the company could save five of its 727 Boeing planes and continue conducting international flights to Paris, London, Tehran, Moscow, Tashkent, Peshawar, Doubi, Amritsar, and Frankfurt. As per a new contract signed with the Saudi Arabia and Turkey, while arrangements are under way to fly to Istanbul and Jeddah to Samarqand, Ashqabad, and Turkmenistan as well.

Three planes of the AAA are under repair which are intended to be utilised for domestic flights, however, due to the shortage of oil in some provinces, our flights are encountering problems, he pointed out. The AAA is currently trying to procure oil from abroad to enable its flights to the remote provinces of the country.

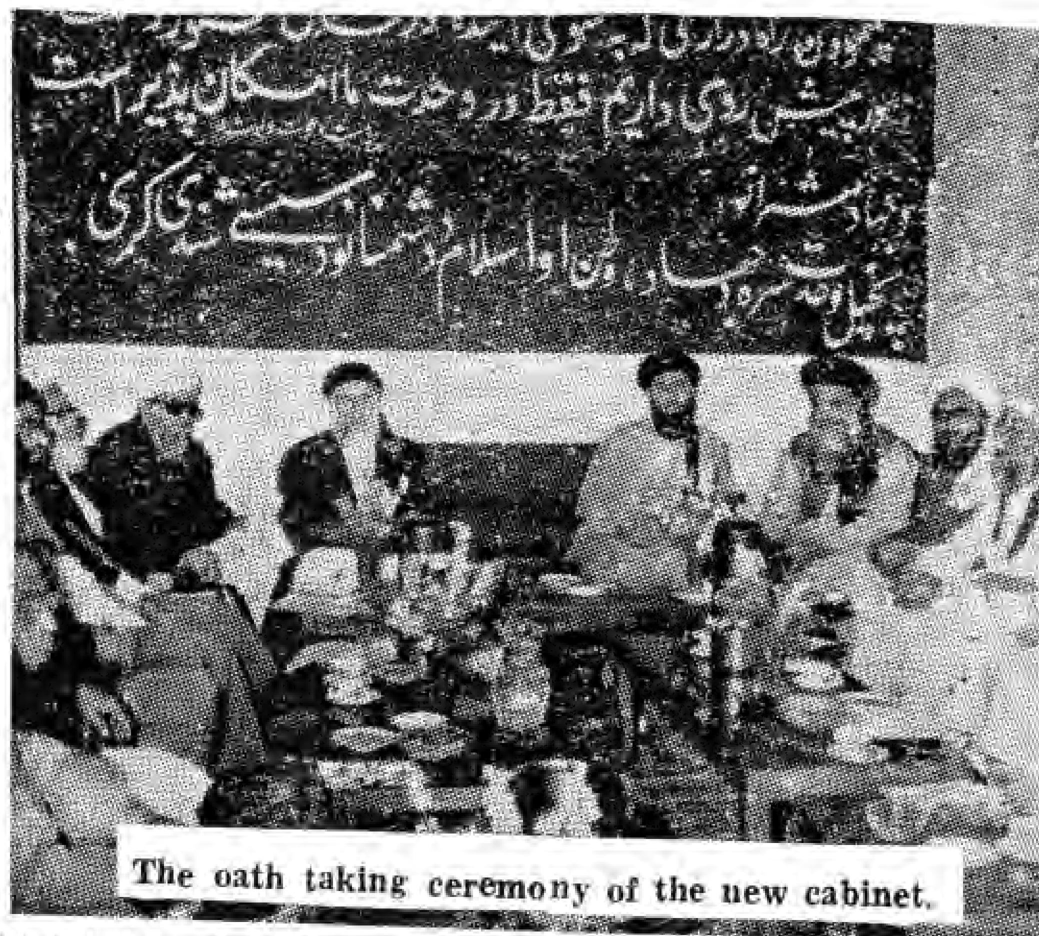
The AAA has already sent some of its pilots engineers and technicians to receive training abroad who will soon return with refreshed knowledge and energy.

As regards grant of five old Boeing planes by the Saudi Arabia to AAA Eng. Ruhullah said, at the beginning of the current Afghan year esteemed Prof. Burhanuddin Rabbani President of the Islamic State of Afghanistan paid an official visit to the Saudi Arabia where underlining the problems of Afghanistan the President requested HE Malik Fahd the King of the Saudi Arabia to assist five old Boeing planes to the AAA for improvement of the services. The Saudi side which helped Afghanistan during the years of Jehad has shown preparedness to continue such assistance to our country.

(Hamida)

KT 8/12

# Council of Ministers



The oath taking ceremony of the new cabinet.

The cabinet session was held on July 5 presided over by Engineer Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, Prime Minister of the Islamic State of Afghanistan.

The session began with a short speech of the Prime Minister and debated matters in connection of security, economical and organisational issues the budget for the year 1372 HS and necessary decissions adopted, reported press department of the Council of Ministers.

Present were Sayeed Salman Gilani, Minister of Frontiei Affairs, Hayatullah Ballaghi, Minister of Commerce, Mawlawi Jalilullah Mawlavizadah, Minister of Education, Sayeed Mohammad Ali Jawid Minister of Planning, Qazi Mohammad Amin Weqad, Minister of Communications, Dr. Farouq Azam Minister of Repatriates, Prof. Sayeed Omar Munib Minister of Higher and Vocational Education, Col. General Sayeed Hussain Anwari, Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, Mawlavi Arsala Rahmani, Minister of Instruction and Religious Trust, Mawlavi Abdul Rahim Azimi Deputy Minister of Justice, Walajan Wasiq Deputy Minister of Information and Culture, Abdul Karim Khadem, Deputy Minister of town planning and construction affaires Khalil Zihad Acting Minister of Transport, Hamid Karzai, Deputy Minister of Light Industries and Food Stuffs, Ziyauddin Ziya Deputy Minister of Commerce, Shahmahmoud Deputy Minister of Finance and Dr. Abubakr Deputy Minister of Agriculture.

Similarly the session discussed the Ordinary and development budgets for the years 1371 and 1372.

At the end Prime Minister assinged finance, Planning and foreign affairs ministers to work on the budget and organisational charts for the year 1372 of the ministries and to present their final reports in this respect.

Meanwhile the session debated restoration of perfect security in the country particulary in the Kabul city and four members of the cabinet were assigned to adopt measures for movement of a part of Council of Ministers related institutions, transfer of heavy arms, withdrawl of units from inside of the city, opening of the highway and roads of the Kabul city ensuring of ceasefire, deploying of peace forces and follows the works of the defence and interior ministries commissions, as well as in connection of transferring of petroleum and foodstuffs from Pakistan to Kabul city necessary decission were adopted.

In the session also matters were discussed on soundless propagations of the radio-TV. After creticising of radio-TV propagations necessary decission were adopted. (BIA)

KT 7/12

This may be an Indian movie, but any film that opens with a buzkashi game should be of interest to lovers of Afghanistan!

By STEPHEN HOLDEN

## God Is My Witness

Directed by Mukul S. Anand; written by Santosh Saroj (in Hindi with English subtitles); cinematographer, W. B. Rao; edited by R. Rajendran; music by Laxmikant Pyarelal; produced by Manoj Desai and Nazir Ahmed; released by Headliner Productions Releasing. Quad Cinema, 13th Street, west of Fifth Avenue, Greenwich Village. Running time: 180 minutes. This film has no rating.

Badshah Khan .......... Amitabh Bachchan
Benazir, Menhdi .......... Sridevi
Raja .......... Nagarjuna
Henna .......... Shilpa Shirodkar

Movies rarely offer more rip-roaring action per minute than does "God Is My Witness," a three-hour epic adventure from India that is as crude as it is energetic. The movie, which opens today at the Quad Cinema, wants to be an Indian answer to "Ben Hur," "Duel in the Sun," "The Desert Song," "Giant" and "The Seven Samurai," all rolled into one churning, palpitating package.

It opens with a game of buzkashi, a dangerous equestrian sport involving a dead goat, and closes with a version of the same game played with a live human. In between, enough plot is jammed in to fill several seasons of "Dallas," along with a musical's worth of songs.

Anchoring this multigenerational saga, directed by Mukul S. Anand, is the actor Amitabh Bachchan, an Indian superstar who outthunders Charlton Heston and outglares Rudolph Valentino. In "God Is My Witness," his 85th film, Mr. Bachchan plays Badshah Khan, a heroic patriarch who gets into all kinds of trouble because he is such a stickler about keeping his word. The moral of the story seems to be that one's honor is something that must be upheld at all costs. Or must it, various characters wonder late in the story.

When Mr. Bachchan speaks, he proclaims his lines in a deep impassioned roar. As he locks eyes with Sridevi, the actress who plays his wife, Benazir, the screen is in danger of melting.

•

Over the course of the film, Badshah is beaten, tortured, imprisoned, shot at and bombed, but he always rises up, as indestructible as Superman. Benazir is so madly in love with him that she instantly goes crazy when told he has been killed. (He hasn't been, of course.) For the next 18 years, she mumbles only three words over and over: "He will return." Sridevi also plays the couple's daughter, who eventually travels to India to find the father she never knew.

With scenes of high adventure that are abruptly broken by elaborate musical production numbers, "God Is My Witness" is stylistically typical of mainstream Indian movies. What distinguishes it from assembly-line fare is its relative grandeur. The arid mountain landscapes in which much of the action takes place are as impressively spacious as the Wild West of Hollywood. The musical numbers have an opulence that recalls the most jewel-encrusted M-G-M fantasies.

For all its borrowing of Hollywood formulas, "God Is My Witness" suggests that the busy Indian film industry is happy to remain 40 to 60 years behind Hollywood both stylistically and technologically. The musical numbers, with their dubbed voices, recall Howard Keel and Kathryn Grayson. The lumbering fight sequences suggest that the martial-arts revolution begun by Bruce Lee has yet to affect the Indian cinema. What fun lies ahead!

NYT 8/20






State Journal photo/CAROLYN PFLASTERER

| Restaurant owner Ghafoor Zafari brings Middle Eastern cuisine
ate Street.

## Mashawa soup

**1 large onion, diced**
**8 ounces chopped lamb (leg of lamb, fatless)**
**8 ounces chopped chicken breast**
**1 cup dry garbanzo beans**
**1 cup dry light kidney beans**
**½ cup green split peas**
**½ cup yellow split peas**
**2 tablespoons crushed tomatoes**
**1 tablespoon salt**
**1 tablespoon dill weed**
**¼ tablespoon cayenne pepper**
**½ tablespoon black pepper**
**½ tablespoon dried cilantro**
**2 ounces chicken stock**
**1 cup cooked rice**

Brown onion in vegetable oil, add lamb and chicken and saute. In separate kettle, put all beans and peas, cover with water and boil for one hour. In the lamb and chicken mixture add the remaining ingredients except the rice, then add ½ gallon of water. Bring to boil, simmer for 2 hours. When finished, pour both mixtures together. Add rice.

Note: Top mashawa soup with a tablespoon of yogurt sauce and serve with Afghani flat bread.

## Yogurt sauce

**8 ounces plain yogurt**
**2 cloves garlic, crushed**
**1 teaspoon ground mint**

Mix together ingredients. Put a tablespoon of yogurt sauce on each soup serving.

Wisconsin State Journa
Wednesday, July 28, 1993
(Madison)

# CHRONOLOGY

7/8 - PT - Gen. Dostam came to Kabul last week & met with almost everybody (see article on p. 8).
- Rabbani attended a meeting of the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) last week in Turkey. Afghanistan, Pakistan & Turkey signed a memorandum of understanding to promote sustained economic growth. They will establish a tripartite commission to explore possibilities for building roads, railroads & air links as well as for laying oil & gas pipelines (see p. 10).

7/14 - LAT - Afghans & Tajik insurgents assaulted the Tajik border post at Sarigor. The Russian commander in Tajikistan said it was the most ruthless cross-border assault in recent times. (See 7/27)
- KT - Moh'd Shah Fazli is the Chief Justice of the Islamic State of Afghanistan.
- PT - Two Chinese, working near Bostan, were captured and are being held for ransom by an Afghan who is demanding, among other things, the return of his 3 Stinger missiles which were confiscated by the Frontier Corps in a raid last March.




Frontier Post 7/11

7/15 - PT - Gulbuddin met with Dostam outside Kabul. A Hezb spokesman said, "Hekmatyar has the obligation to meet all Afghans who want to see him." The two signed no formal agreement but reached an understanding about the need for a ceasefire in Kabul.

7/18 - Asbury Park Press - Tajikistan's leader appealed to the UN for help in stopping "bloody invasions" from Afghanistan by Tajik rebels & the Muslim militants who back them. Afghanistan also appealed to the UN, saying it wants talks with Moscow to help defuse the tensions.
- PT - Russia flew extra troops to Tajikistan. Afghanistan protested the Russian intervention: "We have not forgotten the past 14 years." Afghanistan denies helping the Tajik rebels but did say that "if there are some individual irresponsible groups helping the Tajiks then the Afghan Gov't will deal with them & will not allow it to continue."

7/21 - WSJ - A Moscow military official asserted that Russian troops guarding Tajikistan's border have the right to attack targets inside Afghanistan to prevent rebels from launching cross-border strikes. Russia, which has thousands of soldiers in Tajikistan, is preparing to send more troops to the ex-Soviet republic to repel offensives.

- PT - India will reopen its Kabul Embassy soon. Afghan Foreign Minister Hidayat Amin Arsala is in India to review prospects for bilateral cooperation.

7/23 - PT - UN Sec'y Gen'l Boutros-Ghali asked the parties involved in the Af-Taj border conflict to exercise restraint.

7/24 - NYT - The US CIA will spend $55m in a new effort to buy back Stinger missiles from Afghanistan (see p. 20).

7/27 - PT - Takhar Province has been paralyzed because of an 11-day bombardment from Russian military forces in Tajikistan. Local traffic cannot use the border roads & some villages have been evacuated. The bombing is in retaliation for the attack noted on 7/14.

7/30 - PT - Radio Kabul claims that hundreds of Afghans have been killed or wounded in artillery attacks from Tajikistan; the Afghans are ready to mediate in settling the difficulties. The 7/31 PT said Amin Arsala was in Islamabad to discuss the Af-Taj border situation.

8/1 - Asbury Park Press - Russian planes drove back 200 rebels trying to cross into Tajikistan from Afghanistan, but a guerrilla cdr. threatened to use newly acquired anti-aircraft missiles in coming confrontations.

- NYT - Gulbuddin offered refuge in Afghanistan to Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman if he is deported from the US. "We are willing to give him refuge. It will not cause a problem for Afghanistan," Gulbuddin said.

8/4 - PT - Russia demanded that Tajiks be withdrawn from border areas in Afghanistan. Afghanistan responded: "The Russians have no right to tell our people where to live." A spokesman said that Tajik refugees were welcome in Afghanistan & where they settled was no business of Russia.

- Pakistan & Afghanistan signed a memo on the development of transit routes between the two countries & in Central Asia.

8/5 - PT - "The Advisory Council of the Presidency of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan" met with the vice-chancellor of Kabul Univ. to discuss reforming the administrative system of the country.

8/8 - NYT - Boris Yeltsin appealed to Central Asian leaders to help defend the border with Afghanistan against incursions stemming from the civil war in Tajikistan (see p.17).

8/11 - PT - Afghan For. Min. Amin Arsala arrived in Tajikistan for talks. (See p. 17.)

8/16 - PT - Gulbuddin came to Pakistan, receiving a 19-gun salute at the Islamabad airport. He will stay 3 days in Pakistan, then fly to Tehran.

8/17 - PT - Gulbuddin & Pak. P.M. Moeen Qureshi discussed plans for a joint ministerial commission to facilitate the return of the 1.5m Afghan refugees still in Pakistan. They also reportedly agreed to launch joint efforts to get financial aid for the reconstruction of Afghanistan.


Pak. P.M. Qureshi Gulbuddin

8/18 - PT - Gulbuddin, still in Pakistan, when asked about selling Stingers back to the US, said, "We do not think of selling even a Kalashnikov bullet." He said only a court was competent to decide the fate of Najibullah & repeated his offer of asylum for Sheik Abdur Rahman.

8/24 - NYT - Indian officials claim that there are over 200 Afghans fighting in Kashmir; they think the number may be as high as 400. An Indian intelligence officer said that interrogation of a captured Afghan indicated that the Afghans were mostly members of the Hezb-i-Islami of Gulbuddin. The Indians say that at least 29 Afghans were killed in Kashmir between 9/92 & 7/93.

- PT - Some 1,000 Afghans demonstrated outside the UN headquarters in Kabul against Russian aggression on the Tajik border.

- Gulbuddin ended his 4-day visit in Tehran & flew to Saudi Arabia. In Tehran he discussed refugee repatriation, reconstruction, & economic & cultural cooperation with various officials.

9/2 - PT - Afghanistan is looking for int'l financing for emergency repairs of the badly-damaged Torkham-Kabul road. The needed sum is $30m. Pakistan is willing to reconstruct the road but would like Japan to be among the major financiers.

9/8 - Afghan Mission - Commander Shamali, head of forces in Jalalabad, was killed there along with 4 of his body guards as he was about to attend a meeting.

THE
PAKISTAN TIMES

# Afghan refugees repatriation from Iran in Sept.

QUETTA, Aug. 24: The repatriation of about 85-thousand Iran based Afghan refugees to Afghanistan via Quetta will start in the month of September, UNHCR source told APP here on Monday.

"Pakistan has formally provided transit facilities to assist in the voluntary exodus of the Afghan refugees to their country."

The repatriation is planned for September 1, but with only eight days left for the date, the UNHCR has not yet received a green signal from the government of Balochistan, the source told.

However, keeping in view the approaching winter, the UN would like preparations to be completed as soon as possible so that the refugees could be saved from the inconvenience caused by weather.

As the first leg of the exodus plan, some 30 thousand refugees, belonging to Hazarajaat, Ghazni and Bamyan would be sent home provided by the World Food Programme for the purpose.

At the second phase, refugees from the Paktia, Logar and Kabul provinces would be dispatched, while at the third those of the Helmand and Kandahar, would be repatriated.

All these refugees based in different refugees camps in Iran are being repatriated via Balochistan due to security reasons.

This is a big step taken by the UN to facilitate the repatriation of the refugees in an organised manner.

International refugees assistance agencies World Food Programme and the UNHCR expressed their gratitude to Pakistan for permitting this first organised and large scale repatriation programme.

About 60 per cent of the Afghan refugees based in Balochistan have surrendered their pass-books with the UNHCR's designated officials.

The voluntary exodus of the refugees based in Pakistan and Iran started in 1991 following a UN-sponsored repatriation programme launched at the end of 1990.—APP

**August 25, 1993**

**هله به زاريږم**
**چه له کاره وزګاريږم.**

I will sacrifice myself for you
**when I am free from work.**

***Meaning: Business first, friendship afterwards.***

# Tripartite agreement on return of Afghan refugees signed

ISLAMABAD, Aug. 17: In order to facilitate the return of Afghan refugees from Pakistan, a Tripartite Agreement was signed here today between the Government of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Government of Islamic State of Afghanistan and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, says a handout.

The agreement was signed by Mr Nisar A. Memon, Minister for States and Frontiers Regions on behalf of Government of Pakistan, Dr. Farooq Azam Minister for Refugees Repatriation on behalf of Government of Afghanistan and Mr Raymond W. Fell, Chief of Mission, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Under the agreement it has been agreed to establish Tripartite Commission for the Repatriation of the Afghan Refugees in Pakistan.

The principal objective of the commission shall be to facilitate the safe, orderly and voluntarily repatriation of Afghan refugees and their successful re-integration in Afghanistan. The Commission shall determine the policies and advise the parties on the measures which should be taken in order to achieve this objective.

The Commission shall be composed of 12 members, four members being designated by each of the parties. Members shall be empowered by the parties to take decisions on matters within the competence of the commission.

The Commission shall meet as often as required but no less frequently than once every two months. Meetings of the commission may be convened at the request of any of the parties. The meetings of the commission shall be held alternately in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The members of the Commission may conduct exchange visits for the purpose of fulfilling their functions under this agreement.

This agreement shall be effected immediately and shall remain in force until the parties are agreed that the objectives of the commission have been achieved.

# Pak-Afghan cooperation

That Pakistan and Afghanistan have agreed in principle to sign a tripartite agreement, involving the United Nations as the third party, for the repatriation of the remaining Afghan refugees to their homeland is to be welcomed as a step in the right direction. The understanding emerged during the formal talks Afghan Prime Minister Gulbaddin Hekmatyar is holding with Prime Minister Moeen Qureshi in the course of his two-day visit to Pakistan, his first after taking over as Premier of Afghanistan. The two leaders also discussed the possibility of setting up a joint ministerial commission for facilitating the return of the Afghan refugees. The parleys are being held in a highly cordial atmosphere and there is a complete identity of views on bilateral, regional and global issues. Further, the parties agreed to undertake joint efforts for securing financial support for the vital task of reconstruction and development in war-ravaged Afghanistan. Regarding Kashmir issue, they reaffirmed their support to the right of self-determination for the Kashmiris.

Being immediate neighbours and bound together by the ties of common faith and culture, cooperation and goodwill between Pakistan and Afghanistan are sure to grow with the passage of time. The immediate task before them is to ensure smooth and safe return of Afghan refugees to their motherland. It is reassuring that the two governments are according it the urgency it deserves and are striving to evolve a suitable mechanism for accomplishing it. The participation of the United Nations in the repatriation would certainly make things easy for them. Pakistan, on its part, has already provided shelter and succour for over a decade to about three million Afghans who had to leave their hearths and homes due to the Soviet armed intervention. In doing so, it did not hesitate to go even beyond its means. Also, it is already providing sizeable financial assistance to Afghanistan. At the same time, it would spare no effort at the international level for initiating and expediting the programme of reconstruction and development. Afghanistan's economy was virtually ruined in the course of the long-drawn 'jihad' against Soviet occupation. Rebuilding it would require Herculian effort and resolve. The world community must discharge its moral obligation to make a maximum contribution in this behalf. Prime Minister Moeen Qureshi can secure a substantial response from the World Bank and other international agencies on the basis of his long association with them. It goes without saying that he will do what he can for the well-being of Afghan brethren.

**ISLAMABAD, AUGUST 18**

# JI leader meets Hekmatyar

PESHAWAR, Aug. 17: Shabbir Ahmad Khan, Amir, Jamat-i-Islami Peshawar who is also the district organiser of Pakistan Islamic Front, held a meeting with the Prime Minister of Afghanistan, Gulbadeen Hekmatyar here on Monday.

During the meeting, which was held in a friendly atmosphere, the Jamat-i-Islami leader conveyed an important message of Qazi Hussain Ahmad to the Afghan Prime Minister.

# Afghanistan: from bleeding wound to internal injury

About five years after the withdrawal of communist troops, and more than a year since the Soviet-backed President, Dr. Najibullah threw in the towel, the mountainous country north-west of Pakistan has made little headway towards peace; the movement to that end has at best been a crawl. The country may not be bathed in blood every day and put to fire every night but the result of the people's pains and sacrifices is more agony. Kabul, the capital, keeps getting hit by rockets regularly; exchange of gunfire is a routine. The level of fighting has admittedly scaled down but blood letting goes on. Thousands of Afghans lost their lives fighting for the freedom of their country but a majority of the survivors is having a hard time surviving. Life is marked by uncertainty and despair, with little hope to illuminate the surroundings.

Nothing strikingly unforeseen in the scenario. This is the fate of most tribal societies. Otherwise too, all this was to be predicted when Mujahideen groups spearheading the struggle against foreign occupation were squabbling with each other even when war was at its deadliest. Now they are vying for control of the country, for political supremacy over rivals. Indeed this attitude delayed their success; now it is imparting hollowness to victory. Such conflicts are eternally in play in many societies but are channelised through democratic expression. In Afghanistan, the tradition of driving the point home at gunpoint has deepened divisions. Furthermore, the war may have made many of the warriors trigger-happy. The result is a free for all. Freedom has been interpreted as licence to kill each other and settle scores.

Not that peace has been placed on a shelf; it has been pursued in various ways. Unfortunately, with more reservations than enthusiasm. Pakistan played a vital role in this process, as it did during the war years. Two agreements between the main groups of Mujahideen, the Islamabad Accord and the Jalalabad Accord, signed in March and May this year, somewhat brightened prospects for peace. The first was wholly due to Pakistan's efforts, the second an extension of the first. Afghans would, however, have done better by involving other forces in search of peace, such as General Dostam. But with egos and ambitions running high, particularly in some elements, the agreements have not brought much clarity to the picture; haziness is the dominant shade of the relentless grey of Afghanistan.

The highest hurdle in the way of peace has been the desire of some groups and their leaders for importance and power out of proportion with their size and contribution to the war and that at the expense of forces that had borne the brunt of fighting as well as shown better and more concrete results. For instance, the role of Commander Ahmad Shah Masood is internationally acknowledged. He came to be known as the Lion of Panjsher because he commanded the Panjsher valley. His was possibly the stiffest resistance against the communists and the invaders conceded this much by concentrating on other fronts. When other groups insist on a share equal to his party's, resentment is bound to surface. The only method Afghans know for resolving disputes is using guns. So the fight goes on self-devouringly.

In a different way, the case of General Rashid Dostam runs parallel. He was an important component of the Kabul government during the Najibullah years. The equation decisively changed when he moved over the fence. This left Najibullah with no choice but to try to flee the country. Dostam, with a catalyst's role in the conflict, is not to be ignored. Also to be noted is the extent and quality of support of these two leaders. Significantly, Masood and Dostam have struck an understanding. That places them in a very strong position to launch a counter-attack but they have resisted the temptation, displaying remarkable restraint in the face of war-like activities of some rival groups, especially Hizb-e-Islami led by Gulbadin Hikmatyar apparently realising that gains of freedom are not to be squandered through civil strife. But their responsible behaviour hasn't met a matching response. They did rect in April when Kabul was subjected to fierce attacks when, it seems, they were able to silence their opponents to some extent as gradually a change for the better has occurred since then. The Afghans are either beginning to feel exhausted or, hopefully, realising that destruction is the only wages of internal strife.

So far, the main outcome of the two accords has been a relative quiet which, considering the situation and circumstances, is no ordinary achievement. Otherwise, the promises they contained and the hopes they kindled are far from met. A beginning was to be made with the formation of a cabinet comprising all segments. The Islamabad Accord was signed on March 7; two weeks were given for cabinet formation to the prime minister-designate, Gulbadin Hikmatyar. That took a much longer time completed in an academic way, on May 22, the delay indicating that decisions arrived at by negotiators had not fully taken cognisance of ground conditions. Afghan leaders needed this much time; in fact more, to sort out their differences. A cabinet could be meaningfully formed only after the deck was cleared. But as some of them jumped the gun, the process has been undermined. It is doubtful if roadblocks to understanding have yet been removed. Recent developments convey an impression to the contrary.

These developments comprise activities of the prime minister-designate, sworn in and given an official status a few days back. He still operates, whatever the worth of the operations, from Charasiab, about 25 km southeast of Kabul. He had to be sworn in at a "secret" ceremony as Prime Minister, at the headquarters of Ittehad-e-Islami, led by Rasul Sayyaf. Paghmam is about 30 km west of Kabul; President Burhanuddin Rabbani came to that camp from the capital to christen his prime minister who refuses to visit the seat of his government for security reasons; Kabul continues to be dominated by the forces of Dostam and Masood. Gulbadin Hikmatyar has stayed away from the capital because he feels unsafe there. It was, however, Masood who made the formation of a government cabinet possible by agreeing to relinquish the charge of the Defence Ministry on which Hikmatyar had insisted. Masood did that voluntarily; other groups were in no position to force him out.

The tasks before the cabinet are political, administrative and relating to defence. One has not come across any plans for the administration. Neither is much to be done in that regard because administration presupposes settled conditions or in their absence, works for creating them. If a prime minister dare not visit the capital of his country, little is to be expected on that count. Consequently the political field must also remain unattended at this stage. Nevertheless, some of the measures proposed in the Islamabad Accord cannot be postponed. The Accord had envisaged holding of elections for the Constituent Assembly by November this year by an independent Election Commission comprising all parties. That is yet to be undertaken. The CA is to frame a constitution and the EC is to ensure that elections are held in time for handing over power to elected representatives by June 1994. But the plans for political rebuilding of the beleaguered country are in doldrums as the government is trying to find its feet. Masood as Defence Minister was in control of that field. The Defence Council which is to run the ministry till June next year is not yet in place. After the induction of the cabinet, nothing seems to have improved. But expecting a change would be unrealistic when the cabinet is only technically in power.

In these circumstances, it is doubtful if the country can resolve its myriad problems in the near future. The first step to stability would be rival leaders controlling passions and egos. The basic need is all segments participating in the task of putting the pieces together. there is no evidence to suggest that the leaders have woken up to their historical role. That makes, at least at this point in time, the attainment of a truly democratic government an unrealistic and unrealisable end.

Creation of a democratic set-up is in any case difficult for a country which looks at this form of government as an alien concept; Afghanistan has been ruled so far either by monarchs or by dictators. The country did have some democratic institutions but they were essentially fake, democracy a facade and political parties performed an anti-democracy role in so far as they represented the government; there was no room for dissent. This led to intensifying factionalism in the form of Khalq and Percham groups of the communist party, says ZAFAR SAMDANI. The so-called democratic institutions were primarily an urban phenomenon which left the countryside cold. They also represented an ideology considered to be a negation of the indigenous culture and religion of the people. As such, the counterfeit democracy succeeded only in widening the distance between rural and urban populations, liberal and conservative segments and added to the existing differences based on tribal loyalties. Already, there were divisions, besides tribal associations, along linguistic and ethnic lines. The communists had driven a wedge between all these elements composing the state of Afghanistan; the present religious leadership has refused to accept even the existence of a different point of view and in that augmenting the forces of autocracy.

This has made re-building and reconciliation in a war-devastated country an uphill, if not an impossible task. It can still be accomplished but the first requirement is a spirit of accommodation among all segments as a guiding principle for all groups. That, unfortunately, is nowhere to be seen. This can lead to a further hardening of divi-

sions. The worst outcome can be fragmentation of Afghanistan on ideological (there still are people committed to communism) linguistic and ethnic lines. The country that Gorbachev once described as his country's "bleeding wound" is now bleeding from internal injuries. The fear is that trouble can turn into gangerine to devour Afghanistan bit by bit. Or, it could follow the ideological pattern. Either way, Afghanistan is on the edge of the precipice.

**ZAFAR SAMDANI.**

PT 7/9

# Hekmatyar denies Afghan hand in Tajik crisis



Heckmatyar

**By Maqbool Elahi Malik**

ISLAMABAD, Aug. 17: The visiting Afghan Prime Minister Engineer Gulbideen Hekmatyar has denied Afghan hand in the crisis in Tajikistan and said it was Tajikistan's internal problem, and solution of the crisis lies in the election under the supervision of neutral government.

Afghan Prime Minister was talking to newsmen after a dinner reception hosted in his honour by the Amir Jamat-i-Islami Senator Qazi Hussain Ahmed here at a local hotel on Tuesday evening.

Besides leaders of Jamat-i-Islami, the reception was attended by General (Retd.) Mirza Aslam Beg, Gen. (Retd.) Gul Hameed, former Federal Minister Ijaz-ul-Haq and Senator Hafiz Hussain Ahmed.

The Afghan Prime Minister said that he held a meeting with Russian envoy in Pakistan and discussed the Tajikistan crisis with him. He said he has told the Russian envoy that Russia should play a positive role in the solution of the crisis.

He said he told the Russian envoy that Afghanistan and other regional countries including Pakistan and Iran were concerned about the instability in Tajikistan.

He observed that since the crisis in Tajikistan was of internal nature. The people of Tajikistan should be allowed to seek its solution themselves without any foreign pressure he added.

About the political situation in Afghanistan, Engineer Gulbideen Hekmatyar said that "we are in a process of holding general elections in line with the accords reached among various Mujahideen parties, in Peshawar, Islamabad, Jalalabad and Saudi Arabia.

He said that some forces opposing to Islamic ideology were trying to create hindrances in the establishment of a truly elected Islamic government in Afghanistan.

About talks held between the Afghan delegation and the officials of Pakistan. Afghan Prime Minister said "we discussed a number of regional and bilateral issues including the political crises in Tajikistan. • • •

PT 8/18

# Afghan transit goods will be destroyed or auctioned at Karachi Port

KARACHI, Aug. 20: Huge Afghan transit goods piled up at Karachi Port will be destroyed or auctioned to clear the space at the Karachi Port.

Majority of the items which are to be destroyed are perishable items and have lost utility.

One of the reasons of their non-transhipment is the dispute between the Afghan Government and the Afghan National Bank.

Based on the recent visit of the Afghan Prime Minister Engineer Gulbuddin Hikmatyar to Pakistan when the question of transit trade was raised with the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Moeen Qureshi, the Minister for Communications and Railways, Mr Ahmad Faruque, had asked that a meeting be held on August 18, at 1100 hours to discuss and resolve problems in clearance of Afghan transit goods. • • •

Vice Admiral Ahmad Tasnim, Chairman, KPT, welcomed the participants and stated that he has been directed by minister of communications to meet the participants in order to ascertain their problems in clearing the Afghan goods from the port and to resolve them so that the movement of Afghan cargo is accelerated.

The minister was keen to ensure that bottlenecks in delivery/movement of Afghan transit goods are removed to the satisfaction of the Afghan representatives and the Afghan consignees.

He drew the attention of Counsel General of Afghanistan towards large quantity of Afghan uncleared cargo lying in the port occupying considerable space in every transit shed. He asked the Counsel General as well as other representatives to pin point the problems affecting clearance of transit goods so that the same could be resolved.

The Afghan Counsel General pointed that main problem faced by Afghan importers is non-transhipment of consignments of tyres, dyes and chemicals, ball bearings, television sets and air conditioners. Mr. Jehangir Khan clarified that consignments of tyres are detained because of stay granted by honourable Supreme Court against release of orders of Sindh High Court.

Regarding the remaining items, a decision had already been taken at a meeting of finance minister and foreign minister of Islamic state of Afghanistan to appoint a task force. He assured Counsel General that KPT and customs would work round the clock to examine Afghan goods and allow transhipment.

Facilities would be provided for expeditious examination and completion of documentation formalities so that quick deliveries could be affected. The representatives of the two Afghan banks, the President of the Clearing Forwarding Group of Transit Cargo confirmed that there were no problems either with KPT or customs other than non-transhipment of certain items.

Chairman KPT assured the participants that problem, if any, relating to non-availability of railway wagons could be resolved as railways had been told to provide special train for movement of Afghan intransit goods, if and when desired. Afghan delegation confirmed adequate wagons are being provided by Pakistan railways and there is no delay in movement of transit goods to Peshawar and Chaman. Attention of Counsel General was drawn to the detention of railway wagons at Peshawar and Chaman due to non-availability of documents or road transport for carriage of goods onwards to Afghanistan. The Counsel General promised to look into this and to ensure that problems at the other end was resolved so that wagons were expeditiously released from Peshawar and Chaman.

Chairman, KPT, brought to the notice of Counsel General the accumulation of more than 35,000 PKGs. of Afghan transit goods awaiting destruction/disposal through auction. He suggested that Afghan government instead of spending money on transportation of such goods from Karachi to Peshawar/Chaman may agree to the destruction of perishable goods not fit for human consumption at Karachi under supervision of customs, KPT and representatives of Consulate General of Afghanistan.

The remaining cargo can similarly be auctioned at Karachi. Since consignees of the cargo will not be traceable, the goods may be auctioned in Karachi and money deposited with Afghan consulate, the question of KPT charges against these goods could be adjusted and resolved. This will save the Afghan Govt. from incurring additional cost on transportation and Afghanistan will find better buyers in Pakistan. Same procedure can be followed at Peshawar and Chaman.

Chairman KPT, also brought to the notice of Counsel General that more than 20,000 PKGs. Afghan cleared goods were lying in M.L. yard sheds. This space is now required in connection with construction of Jinnah Bridge. The goods are not moving out on account of dispute between the Afghan Govt. and the Afghan National Bank. Decision was required to be taken in this regard. The Counsel General of Afghanistan assured that he will discuss this and other related matters on priority basis with ambassador of Afghanistan in Islamabad and would have decision within 2 days. • • •

He assured that they are aware of the problems and are working in this direction to control malpractices in Afghan imports to the mutual benefit of two countries. Chairman KPT and collector of customs reassured Afghan Counsel General that customs and KPT will provide facilities on 24 hours basis with a view to have quick deliveries of Afghan intransit goods and resolve any problem that hindered movement of Afghan goods.

PT 8/21

# Dostum:

## Rahimullah Yusufzai

The fierce competition between Afghan warlords to share the spoils of war entered a decisive stage with former militia boss General Abdul Rasheed Dostum's unexpected arrival in Kabul on July 3. It was Dostum's first visit to the country's capital since his militiamen made a triumphant entry into Kabul along with the mujahideen in April 1992 after the collapse of President Dr Najibullah's government.

Despite his absence from the Afghan capital for about 15 months, Dostum was able to influence events in Kabul through the presence of his battle-hardened troops. Largely comprising the Uzbeks, his militia was in control of some strategic points in the city, including the Khawaja Rawash airport, Balahisar Fort, Tappa Maranjan and old Microryan. Recently, it even extended its influence and Dostum's men were deployed at Deh Mozang, Silo and Bagh-i-Babur to serve as a buffer between the warring forces of the Shiite Hezb-i-Wahdat and the Rabbani government. None could deny his militia's vital role in defending Kabul from Hezb-i-Islami (Hikmatyar) attacks in May and August last year.

That Dostum's men have tried to remain neutral in subsequent battles for Kabul explained their leader's shrewd attempts to preserve his power in a bid to improve his influence in future events in Afghanistan. His perseverance has now paid-off with Gulbaddin Hikmatyar, one of Dostum's most bitter foes, agreeing to hold talks with him and other mujahideen leaders softening their opposition towards him. Most of them have belatedly recognised that it would be futile to ignore one of the most powerful men in present-day Afghanistan.

Dostum, a former factory worker with little education, has come a long way since founding his Gilum Jam militia with the avowed aim to crush the mujahideen. It was unimaginable for an Uzbek, whose community constitutes one of the smaller ethnic minorities in Afghanistan, to rise to a position of eminence which Dostum now holds. But luck, courage and a huge amount of weapons and money provided by the Najib government enabled Dostum to spread his control beyond his native Jauzjan province in northern Afghanistan. In due course of time, his crack militia force was required to cope with mujahideen onslaughts in several parts of the country, ranging from Kandahar and Herat to Khost, Gardez and Jalalabad. The Gilum Jam had come to be known as one of the toughest fighters in Afghanistan, earning the respect of friends and foes alike.

The entry of Dostum's forces into Kabul in April 1992 was apparently part of an agreement with Jamiat-i-Islami commander Ahmad Shah Masood. Once Dostum had switched sides the two entered into an alliance and joined hands with the mujahideen to oust the Najibullah government. There is no doubt that his revolt against President Najibullah was motivated by ethnic factors and was triggered by the desire to oppose the Pashtoon dominance in the government and armed forces. The immediate cause of the revolt was Dr Najib's backing for his Pashtoon General, Juma Achak, who wanted to replace the Tajik commander, Gen. Momin, as head of the army command at the town of Hairatan on Afghanistan's border with Uzbekistan. Dostum and his Ismaili ally, Mansoor Naderi, joined forces with Gen. Momin and a tacit agreement followed with some of Najib's generals including Nabi Azimi and Asif Dilawar, and Parchamis like Abdul Wakil, Farid Mazdak, Najmuddin Kawyani, etc. Eventually, approval was given to Dostum and Masood to enter their forces into Kabul not only to depose Najib but also to deny Hikmatyar a chance to capture strategic positions in the city.

Eversince, Dostum's strength and stature has grown. Besides a strong presence in Kabul, Dostum has won tributes as a "Great Mujahid" from no less a person than Prof. Sebghatullah Mojadeddi while he was President of the country and has been approached by most mujahideen groups for an alliance.



His political front, Jumbush-i-Melli Islami Afghanistan, is gaining gradual acceptance and has been attracting new members. Even Pakistan, Iran and Saudi Arabia were forced to befriend him by offering him assistance. He has already undertaken visits to Pakistan and Saudi Arabia and regularly receives Iranian diplomats. Russia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and other Central Asian republics are said to be in touch with him, knowing pretty well that he can best serve their interests in Afghanistan. Even the US and its Western allies would prefer him to the fundamentalist mujahideen groups that have done little since the past 15 months except spread death and destruction in Afghanistan.

Dostum's substantial income from the gas fields at Shiberghan and from the taxes on border trade with Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan has enabled him to pay his troops and finance his huge war machine. However, monetary help from the Saudis has come in handy, enabling him to expand his area of operation, hire more fighters and win over many mujahideen commanders. It is a measure of his shrewdness that rival states like Saudi Arabia and Iran are willing to back the same man, as if convinced that Dostum was best suited to safeguard their interests in Afghanistan.

It is no wonder then that Dostum has not yet been confronted with financial difficulties despite maintaining a huge private army and buying-off mujahideen commanders who flock to Mazar-i-Sharif in the hope of getting paid both in cash and kind. Well aware of Dr Najib's experience, whose government collapsed largely due to economic reasons as he in the end was unable to pay warlords like Dostum, the Uzbek General has focused on

*Time-bomb found* KT 7/7

A time-bomb was found and defused on Thursday by the personnel of Kabul city garrison. The mine had been planted next to a shop to kill our innocent citizens.

# playing all the right cards

strengthening himself financially so that he doesn't run out of money in his ongoing battle against rival commanders.

Dostum's party has now encompassed Tajiks, Turkmen, Hazaras and even some Pashtoons living in northern and central Afghanistan. Its hardcore, however, remain the Uzbeks, who are proud that someone from their clan has become so important in Afghanistan. Those belonging to the other ethnic groups have joined Dostum either due to their animosity toward the mujahideen groups or out of necessity since life in the provinces controlled by the Jumbush-i-Melli could be risky without the party's patronage. Former communists, including both Parchamis and Khalqis, soldiers and officials of the Watan Party government and liberals have found the Jumbush as the much-needed sanctuary in the absence of other options. The uncertain and unsafe conditions in Kabul and elsewhere in Afghanistan have also prompted many people to take refuge in Mazar-i-Sharif under Dostum's protection.

The Uzbek warlord, whose political mentors are said to include former president Babrak Karmal and his Parchami colleagues, has now set his eyes firmly on Kabul, the most prized possession in Afghanistan. Belonging to the Uzbek ethnic minority, Dostum knows that he can never aspire to become the ruler in a country dominated by the Pashtoons and Tajiks. But he can, nevertheless, become a kingmaker, a position which he already seems to have acquired. Having struck an alliance with the Shiite Hezb-i-Wahdat and Jamiat-i-Islami's Rabbani-Masood duo, Dostum has now taken a further step towards achievement of his goal by holding talks with Hikmatyar. In fact, he is now in an enviable position to play the role of a mediator in Kabul. This role was reinforced when his forces were recently called upon to act as a buffer between the Rabbani government troops and the Hezb-i-Wahdat.

Dostum's present role has been given different meanings. His party is often described as a reincarnation of the Watan Party sans its communist philosophy, his alliance of ethnic minorities provides a strong forum to challenge the erstwhile Pashtoon monopoly over the country's politics and resources, and his demand for making Afghanistan a federation is enough of a temptation for the country's various regions, tribes, and linguistic, ethnic and religious groups to join him. Coupled with his firepower and outside support, Dostum is destined to play a dominant role in a future Afghanistan. ■

The NEWS (Pakistan) 7/19-

# Afghan leaders want elections: UN envoy

## Mousouris says Najibullah is in serious condition

**Reuter**

KABUL: A United Nations envoy late Tuesday said there was a consensus among the main Afghan leaders to hold elections for an assembly that must frame a constitution for their war-ravaged country.

Sotirios Mousouris, the UN Secretary-General's special representative for Afghanistan, said in an interview after a two-day visit to Kabul that the Afghan leaders also agreed the UN should supervise or at least observe these elections.

Mousouris said the leaders he met included President Burhanuddin Rabbani, Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and influential former Defence Minister Ahmad Shah Masood.

"The differences between these leaders on the question of elections were not too big," the envoy said. The fact that the United Nations was even discussing elections with all these leaders was very encouraging, he added.

A peace accord reached among main mujahideen leaders in the Pakistani capital of Islamabad last March had envisaged elections for a constituent assembly by October this year.

Mousouris conceded the timetable appeared to be slipping, but said it was essential to elect a constituent assembly first to frame the constitution under which the main elections for the future president and a parliament could be held next year.

Mousouris said he had also seen former president Najibullah, now sheltered in a UN building in Kabul. He said the fallen leader had lost a lot of weight and had kidney trouble. Najibullah took refuge in the UN building after his colleagues toppled him and prevented him from leaving the country before the mujahideen guerrillas took power from a collapsed former Soviet-backed government in March last year.

Najibullah had earlier offered to step down at UN urging, and Mousouris described his fate as a moral obligation for the United Nations and a humanitarian issue.

He said he had discussed Najibullah's plight with Afghan leaders but no decision was reached about his release to another country for medical treatment. He said he was not optimistic that the former president would be released soon.

NEWS 8/12

# Najib in critical condition

KABUL (AP) — Afghanistan's deposed president Najibullah, confined for 15 months in a deserted UN headquarters in the war-ravaged capital, is in serious condition suffering from kidney stones, said a UN official.

"This is a humanitarian issue. His condition is serious", said Sotirious Mousouris, the UN secretary-general's representative on Afghanistan.

Mousouris, who was in Kabul on Monday and Tuesday to meet with the Afghan leadership, said Najibullah had lost weight and was in constant pain from the kidney stones.

The head of the old communist regime in Kabul, Najibullah went underground following an abortive attempt to flee the capital last year.

He has been in hiding in the sprawling UN headquarters since mujahideen overran the capital in April 1992 and established an Islamic government.

The UN has tried to negotiate Najibullah's safe passage out of the capital, however, the Afghan leadership is divided over whether to try him as a war criminal.

Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar wants to war crimes tribunal established and Najibullah tried. Other leaders are less adamant, but no one wants to be the one to authorise his release, say several Afghan sources.

Mousouris also met Hekmatyar, who has so far refused to enter the city, sitting security reasons. He holds his cabinet meetings in a bombed-out palace outside the city.

Mousouris told reporters that the Afghan leadership has agreed on elections, supervised by the UN and the organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC).

"There are still some difficulties but I don't think they are very big", he said.

Elections would be held in phases. The first phase which would take place in October or November would be the election of a small assembly to draw up a constitution.

It wasn't clear how this smaller assembly would be chosen. Previous attempts by the Afghan leadership to prepare for elections have failed.

NEWS 8/12



■ **Mr Najibullah ...**

# AFGHANISTAN FORUM




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VOL. XXI September 1993 NO. 5



AFGHANISTAN FORUM, INC.
201 EAST 71ST STREET, 2K
NEW YORK, NY 10021

ABBREVIATIONS USED



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|---|---|
| ACBAR | - Agency Coordinating Bureau for Afghan Relief |
| ARIC | - ACBAR Resource & Information Centre |
| BIA | - Bakhtar Information Agency |
| CSM | - Christian Science Monitor |
| ICRC | - Int'l Committee of the Red Cross |
| KT | - Kabul Times |
| LAT | - Los Angeles Times |
| MEI | - Middle East Int'l |
| NGO | - Non-Governmental Organization |
| NWFP | - Northwest Frontier Province |
| NYT | - New York Times |
| OIC | - Organization of Islamic Conference |
| PCV | - Peace Corps Volunteer |
| PT | - Pakistan Times |
| PVO | - Private Voluntary Organization |
| UNGA | - United Nations General Assembly |
| UNOCA | - United Nations Office of the Commissioner for Afghanistan |
| UNOCHA | - United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Relief for Afghanistan |
| UNHCR | - United Nations High Commission for Refugees |
| WSJ | - Wall Street Journal |
| WP | - Washington Post |

Line drawings from the 1982 calendar of the Chicago Afghanistan Relief Committee.

Please send items for the AFGHANISTAN FORUM to

The Afghanistan Forum, Inc.
201 East 71st Street, 2K
New York, NY 10021, USA



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ISSN 0889-2148